SOCIAL ORIGINS AND SOCIAL CONTINUITIES

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SOCIAL ORIGINS AND SOCIAL CONTINUITIES

BY

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A COURSE OF LECTURES
DELIVERED BEFORE THE LOWELL INSTITUTE,
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS,
FEBRUARY, 1924.

New York
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1925

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Set up and electrotyped.
Published March, 1925.

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DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
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Printed in the United States of America by
THE FERRIS PRINTING COMPANY, NEW YORK.

"Les peuples les plus civilisés sont aussi voisins de la barbarie que le fer le plus poli l'est de la rouille. Les peuples, comme les métaux, n'ont de brillant que les surfaces."

RIVAROL.

145760

PREFACE

ANTHROPOLOGY is the study of man. It is obviously the "proper study of mankind." This book has not been written for the anthropologist, but for the layman who desires a knowledge of some of the elementary and fundamental principles and facts concerning the development of man in his relationships with his fellow-beings, and who cares to acquaint himself with the general points of view of American Anthropology. I feel that many sins are committed in the name of this science, especially in America.

The content of these lectures is not, for the most part, original research and speculation. It is intended to be a presentation of basic facts and admitted hypotheses concerning human institutions. To this end an attempt has been made to present these lectures with the utmost simplicity, without the utilization of cryptic professional terminology; and to refrain from ambitious attempts to inject into the discussion of stabilized subjects personal opinions and pet theories, preferring to offer a practical and intelligible multiplication table rather than an abstract and debatable theory of relativity. Some material has been added to the lectures as given, since it was found impossible to cover adequately all the subjects discussed.

In 1911 another course of Lowell Lectures in the field of anthropology was published. *The Mind of Primitive Man* by Dr. Franz Boas remained for almost ten years the sole account of the general American point of view towards Anthropology. Since that time, and more espe-

cially during the last four years, several of his students have produced books which now cover the field very adequately. This book was projected several years ago, before we had available the most excellent text on early society by Lowie, Kroeber's near-approach to a general text-book for the field of Anthropology, Goldenweiser's able work, and also those of Wissler and others. By my delay I have profited greatly from these books. Lowie's *Primitive Society* covers the whole field of social relations in a way I could not hope to do in a course of six lectures, and I found myself constantly dependent upon many of his theoretical discussions of the social phases of early society.

I am under obligations to Dean Greenough and Dr. P. E. Goddard, who have read the manuscript and offered several valuable suggestions.

My greatest thanks, however, are due to my colleague, Professor E. A. Hooton, who has inspired several of the ideas contained here, and who has unfailingly been willing to sacrifice time and thought upon the problems that have come up. Trained in the European field, he has often given me a different point of view.

I also wish to thank Dr. Edouard Sandoz, Dr. Spinden, and Dr. Glover Allen, to whom I have appealed for advice on special topics. I have availed myself of the material in a large number of books, to which reference has been made at the end of the text.

In the Appendix will be found a collection of Freshman themes on superstitions, with a few comments.

CHOCORUA, NEW HAMPSHIRE,
30 August, 1924.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

BASIC METHODS AND THEORIES

Introduction 1

Cultural history of man 4

Biological and cultural inheritance 6
- Eugenics 6
- Stature 6
- Speech 7
- Flight of birds and of man 9
- Miscegenation 10
- Human and animal societies 12
- The social insects 12

Monotypical evolution 14
- The "geological argument" 16
- Morgan's "Savagery, Barbarism, and Civilization" 16
- Physical evolution 17

Interpretation of similar phenomena 17
- Psychic unity; convergent and divergent evolution 18
- Dissemination 18
  - Similarity of universal traits 18
  - Early trade; amber and the spiral ornament 19
  - Folk-tales; the Tar Baby 20

Corn culture 21
The horse in America 21
Heliolithic School 22
Psychic unity 25
Tale of the mink and the sun 25
Phaethon and the Phœbus Apollo 26

Criteria of Progress 28
Man's control over nature 28
Specialization, physically and culturally . . 29
Has man progressed mentally? 29
Progress in the "finer things of life" . . . 30
Control over human nature 30
Care of the poor and sick 31
Immigration 31
Does civilization progress? 32
Man's control over man 32
Are social changes progressive? 33

CHAPTER II

THE NATURE OF THE SAVAGE AND OF HIS SOCIETY

Origin of human society 35
Contract theory 35
Organic theory 36
Human society not an outgrowth of animal society 36
Psychological theory 38
The horde versus the individual 38

Causes underlying divergencies in cultures . 40
Racial theory 41
Environment 42

Some effects of environment upon man . . 43
Physical 45
Psychical 45
Ethical codes 45
Social life 46
Economic life 47
Industrial life 48
Religion 48
Language 48
Movements of people 48
Adaptability of man to his environment . 49
Extremes of heat and cold 50
Too much stress laid on environment . . . 51

The group mind 53
Society the result of personal units 54

The savage and civilized man 54

Instinct 55
Difficulties in this study 55
The control of instinct by the savage . . . 57

Some characteristics of primitive man 57
Keenness of the senses 57
Ability to concentrate 59
Susceptibility to emotional stimuli 60
Plasticity of judgments 61
Power of Suggestion 61

Intellect 62
Physical criteria 63
Physiological criteria 65
History of cultures 65
Racial psychology 68
Intelligence tests 68

The army tests 69
Negro and white children 72
Rural and urban children 73
Indian-white mixtures 74
Tests for savage peoples 75
Range of intellect 77
Racial prejudices 78
Difficulties of solution 79
Mental processes 80
Conservatism 83

CHAPTER III

THE CRISES IN THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

No typical savage. variety of interests . . . 86

"Rites of passage" 88

Birth 89
Knowledge of procreation 89
Pregnancy 89
Purification 90
The *couvade* 92
Sociological birth 93
Divination 93
Sex totem 95

Name 95

Education 98

Adolescence 99
Physiological and sociological factors . . . 99
Initiation 100
Separation of the sexes 101

Mutilations 102
Ordeals. 104
Pedagogical features 104
Australian rite. 105
The men's-house 109
Guardian spirits 109
Analogies. 112

Death 113
Myths regarding death 113
Physiological and sociological death 114

The belief in a human soul 114
Proofs: dreams, etc. 115
Reality of dreams 116
Concepts of the soul 116
Character of the soul 116
The "life token". 117
Sickness and death 117

Burial Rites 118
Fear of the dead kindred. Precautions taken. 118
Spirits linger about the place of death. 119
Attempts to hasten their departure . . 119
Journey to the grave 119
Methods of burial 120
Inhumation 120
Burial of effigy 121
Preservation 122
Cremation 122
Love of the dead kindred 122

Mourning customs 123
Durkheim's theory 123
The reversal of those of every-day life . 124

The "other world" 124
Location 124
Journey 124
Character 124
Continuation theory 124
Idea of caste 125
Retribution theory 125
Occupants 125
Ancestor worship 125

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

The family anterior to human society 127
Sex in early society 129
The naturalness of the savage 130
The modern family 132
Marriage and the sex impulse 132
Definition of marriage 132
Classical ideas of the family and its development 133
Evolutionary theory of the family 134
Modern ideas of the family 135
Arguments favoring a previous stage of promiscuity 136
Tales of travellers and missionary accounts 136
Survivals 136
Levirate and sororate 137
Phallic worship 138
Jus primæ noctis 139

Group-marriage 139
Classificatory system of relationship terms 140
Theory of rivers 143
Arguments against promiscuity 144
Zoological 145
Biological 145
Psychological 145
Varieties of the forms of marriage 146
Monogamy 146
Polyandry 146
Polygyny 148
Marriage contract 149
Classical theory, wife-capture 150
Compensation 152
Exchange of kinswomen 152
Service 152
Purchase 152
Elopement 154
Betrothal 154
Marriage rites 154
Divorce 155
Limitation of choice of mate 155
Incest rules 155
Exogamy 157
Local exogamy 158
Clan exogamy 158
Australian marriage classes 160
Theories of the origin of exogamy 162
Preferential mating 166
Levirate and sororate 166
Cross-cousin marriage 166

Mother-right and father-right 168
Leadership 168
Descent and succession 169
Examples of mother-right among civilized peoples 170
Inheritance 172
Junior right 172
Residence 173
Parent-in-law tabus 174
Jacob and his wives 175

CHAPTER V

ORGANIZATION, ASSOCIATIONS, AND CLASSES

Social organization 180
Local groups 181
The early English village communities . . 182
Kinship groups 182
The clan 183
Priority of family, clan, and tribe . . . 184
Functions 184
Totemism 185
Phratry or moiety 187
Functions 187
Omaha camping circle 187
Dual organization and the classificatory system 187
Tribe and confederacy 188
Associations 189
Age and sex groups 189
Secret societies 190
Modern secret societies 191

Rank and social classes 192
Absence in early society 192
Factors leading to class distinctions 193
Rank on the Northwest Coast 194
The potlatch system 195

CHAPTER VI

GOVERNMENT, LAW, AND ETHICS

Government 199
Correlation between form of government and scale of culture 200
The Iroquois Confederacy 201
Social organization of the Incas 207
Africa and the Kabyle democracy 209
Different forms of government 210
Mistaken ideas of royalty 211
Development of leadership 212
The "man-horde" 212
Importance of the crisis 213
Part played by personality 213
Criteria for selection 213

Law 216
Civil and criminal law 216
Absence of central authority 217
Powers tending to enforce law 217
Joint liability and blood revenge 217
Settlement or composition 219
Trials 219
Magical or priestly 219
The oath 220
Worldly methods 220

Tabu 221
Psychological background 221
The mystery of tabu 222
Negative magic 222
Mana 223
Transmissibility of tabu 223
Polynesian tabu 224
Tabu and religion 224

College superstitions 225

Ethics 230
The child and the savage 230
Objective side alone treated 231
The ethical code 232
Methods of studying primitive morality . . 233
Standards within and without the group . . 234
The domestic "virtues" 235
The political "virtues" 236
The savage under civilization 236
Public opinion and the ethical code 237
Tests of conduct 238

Conclusions 239

APPENDIX

FRESHMAN THEMES ON SUPERSTITIONS AND OTHER BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Classifications of superstitions 242

The disdain of some students towards superstitions 244

Agnosticism frees one from superstitions . . . 245

Religion frees one from superstitions 246
The privacy of superstitions 247
The background of superstitions in the modern world 247
The usual attitude towards superstitions . . . 248
Superstitions express personality 249
Knocking on wood 250
Lighting three cigarettes with one match . . 251
The desire to explain superstitions 252
Post hoc propter hoc 254
Superstitions at examinations 255
Superstitions of athletes 255
Exhaustion of the power of a fetish 259
A Syrian phylactery 259
Divinatory practices 260
Numerals 262
The danger of superstitions 263
Balance and rhythm 263
The "hunch" 264
Signs as fetishes 265
Tribulations of being born on Friday 265
Conclusions 266

CHAPTER I

BASIC METHODS AND THEORIES

Anthropology has been called "Pre-History." This is true insofar as Archæology has played a part in pushing back the knowledge of the beginnings of the great movements centering in the Mediterranean. Our acquaintance with the factors working together to bring about the great civilizations of Egypt and of Greece is an intimate one, owing to the remarkable advance made in the study of prehistoric Archæology, which is one of the fields of Anthropology.

The "reel of history," as Giddings expresses it, is complete. The broken bits of film have now been, for the most part, repaired, and we have a continuous story of civilized man and of his immediate antecedents.

Another field of Anthropology is the study of contemporaneous peoples living under primitive conditions, and here we have no reel, but a series of "snap-shots," each giving a static picture of a moment, and but a moment, in the life of a people. There is no continuous series, no uninterrupted succession of views, and there is always a danger in filling in these scenes from such sources as pure imagination, the opinions, often biased, of the missionary, or the distorted account of the cursory traveller in search of the picturesque.

When the question of origins is considered, the view is nebulous to a great extent. Prehistoric Archæology gives us a fairly complete picture of the physical forms

of early man. From this study we also learn of those early industries which are based upon the use of imperishable material. We ascertain also the burial customs, with their implications of the ideas of the future life. Nine-tenths of the objects in a museum of Prehistoric Archæology come from graves, all placed there to provide for the comfort and welfare of the souls of the dead. But most of the other features of the cultural life of early man are lacking from the archæological picture. We are forced to piece together our views of present-day peoples living under primitive conditions and try in this way to repair the defect in our knowledge of the origins of social life. This line of reasoning is a dangerous one at best, and it should be undertaken only with the greatest care.

A word should be said regarding the data used in our investigations. There are data from the point of view of time, primitive in the real sense of the term. But knowledge derived from the study of archæology and human palæontology does not help us much in the present study. Then there are data from the point of view of culture, the examination of savage life which is to be seen at the present time or was in evidence over large areas of the world before the out-pouring of the White races in their search for domination and their zeal in propagating the Christian faith. Exception might well be taken to the word "primitive" as applied to living peoples. The term is used here in its derived sense of rude and uncultured.

Thomas has stated that "tribal society is virtually delayed civilization, and the savages are a sort of contemporaneous ancestry." It is this contemporaneous ancestry that will be treated here. It is well to clear away some of the debris from the roots of this ancestral

tree, and to show that the higher growth which we see all about us can be traced back to the same roots by branches, not often straight, more often crooked and full of forks and curious turns. In fact, I suspect that our tree is a banyan, which sends branches in all directions,—some up, many hanging in the air, and others falling to the ground to become new roots.

To change the figure, I wish to "reconstruct, as far as possible, the embryology of the various states of society," and to show the continuity of human achievement on the social side from the savage to civilized man. The greater part of the world now accepts the continuity of growth of the physical structure of man, beginning in an ape-like ancestor and leading by steps that are perhaps less definite than once they were thought to be, to man at the end of Palæolithic time, 10,000 or more years ago, since which time he has remained physically almost at a standstill.

The so-called recapitulation theory in embryology holds that the fœtus in its development passes through certain morphological phases that represent actual steps of the evolution of his several ancestors. In other words, "the individual climbs up his own ancestral tree." At a certain period the human embryo has, for example, gill slits, recalling the fact that all vertebrates have descended from fishes; at a later stage a tail projects from the embryonic trunk, indicative of higher stages of animal development. But all of man's ancestral forms do not manifest themselves in his embryonic growth. Many are suppressed, others elided or exaggerated. Similarly, our analyses and studies of the social and cultural life of anthropoids, and of ancient and modern primitive peoples, must be made cautiously, in the hope

that we may compose from their *disjecta membra* an imperfect but mainly correct recapitulation of man's cultural and social ancestral forms.

Cultural History of Man

The cultural history of man is, however, quite a different story from that of his physical body. His civilization can be said to have been well started only about the time when he became physically similar to what he is today. For about forty-nine-fiftieths of man's existence he had no agricultural life, no domestic animals, and only the crudest of industries. Assuming that a single generation of men had accumulated in fifty years all that we call civilization, and that these men started absolutely uncivilized, Robinson has said that it would take them forty-nine years to give up their ancient habits of wandering hunters and settle down to till the soil, harvest their crops, domesticate animals and practice weaving. "Six months later, or half through the fiftieth year, some of them, in a particularly favorable situation, would have invented writing and thus established a new and wonderful means of spreading and perpetuating civilization. Three months later another group would have carried literature, art, and philosophy to a high degree of refinement and set standards for the succeeding weeks. For two months our generation would have been living under the blessings of Christianity; the printing press would be but a fortnight old and they would not have had the steam engine for quite a week. For two or three days they would have been hastening around the globe in steamships and railroad trains, and only yesterday would they have come upon the magical possibilities of electricity. Within the last few hours they would have

learned to sail in the air and beneath the waters." [1] This picture, exaggerated if you will, does certainly show the relative modernity of our cultural life, and the almost unbelievable slowness of man's beginnings. It is only when a certain point is reached that there is any momentum to his cultural advance.

"One might compare," writes Kroeber, "the inception of civilization to the end of the process of slowly heating water. The expansion of the liquid goes on a long time. Its alteration can be observed by the thermometer as well as in bulk, in its solvent power as well as in its internal agitation. But it remains water. Finally, however, the boiling-point is attained. Steam is produced: the rate of enlargement of volume is increased a thousandfold; and in place of a glistening, percolating fluid, a volatile gas diffuses invisibly. Neither the laws of physics nor those of chemistry are violated; nature is not set aside; but yet a saltation has taken place: the slow transitions that accumulated from zero to one hundred have been transcended in an instant, and a condition of substance with new properties and new possibilities of effect is in existence." [2]

Civilization and society may be likened to a great snowball rolling downhill with accelerating rapidity, and increasing in magnitude all the time. The savage it was who moulded the core of this cultural sphere and with painful effort rolled it up the long ascent until it topped the rise. Now that gravity and momentum are with us, our task is only to direct its course. The snowball is still made of snow; its core is still within, and there is no less admixture of dirt than in its inception.

Biological and Cultural Inheritance

To return once more to those contemporaneous ancestors: We look upon our progenitors as furnishing us with our bodily peculiarities, and we often ascribe to the members of our immediate family many of our ways of speech and of action. A sharp distinction should be made between these two kinds of inheritance:—the biological, that which we inherit congenitally; and the cultural, that which we inherit by social contact: between what Spencer calls the organic and the super-organic.

The fallacy in the reasoning of certain eugenicists is due to this lack of differentiation between these two forms of inheritance. Eugenics attempts to provide better men and women through improved methods of interbreeding. Some students of this subject go further and assume characteristics as congenital which are gained through social contact. The first problem of the eugenicist is to separate those characteristics of mankind which are inherited from those which are acquired through his social and physical environment. This he has often failed to do. It is perfectly clear that only those features that are hereditary can be affected by eugenic selection, and these congenital features play a surprisingly small part in the cultural life of man.[3]

Take an example drawn from the physical side. We inherit a certain stature from our ancestors, but stature is also affected by nourishment. All over Europe so-called "misery spots" occur, where the soil produces poor crops and where the average stature falls below that of the surrounding country. Low stature here is not a question of race but of environment. Children born in these regions who remove to more favorable

localities attain a higher stature than those who remain in the area of poor soil. Some occupations also affect stature. Thus stature is one of the characteristics of man which is determined both by inheritance and by environment.[4]

It is now generally admitted that "for all practical purposes" traits acquired during the life of a single individual are not transmitted. Whether influences brought to bear on a long series of generations may be handed down congenitally is a question still debatable.

The method of those who profess to discover from physical features the vocation suitable for an individual is based upon false premises, confusing the physical with the mental in much the same way as the congenital is mistaken for the cultural. Many of the schools of vocational guidance are but a revival of the long-ago-discredited "science of phrenology," extended to include the features of the face, as well as the shape of the skull.

Let us consider in detail some examples of cultural inheritance which are sometimes mistaken for biological inheritance.

Speech is inherent in man in the sense that he is provided with the organs of vocalization and articulation,—"the mechanism of speech"; but language itself is an acquired characteristic. An illustration, often used, to show this failure to understand that language is acquired is the tale told by Herodotus.

"Now the Egyptians, before the reign of their king Psammetichus, believed themselves to be the most ancient of mankind. Since Psammetichus, however, made the attempt to discover who were actually the primitive race, they have been of opinion that while they surpass all other nations, the Phrygians surpass them

in antiquity. This king, finding it impossible to make out by dint of inquiry what men were the most ancient, contrived the following method of discovery:—He took two children of the common sort, and gave them over to a herdsman to bring up at his folds, strictly charging him to let no one utter a word in their presence, but to keep them in a sequestered cottage, and from time to time introduce goats to their apartment, see that they got their fill of milk, and in all other respects look after them. His object herein was to know, after the indistinct babblings of infancy were over, what word they would first articulate. It happened as he had anticipated. The herdsman obeyed his orders for two years, and at the end of that time, on his one day opening the door of their room and going in, the children both ran up to him with outstretched arms, and distinctly said, 'Becos.' When this first happened the herdsman took no notice; but afterwards when he observed on coming often to see after them, that the word was constantly in their mouths, he informed his lord, and by his command brought the children into his presence. Psammetichus then himself heard them say the word, upon which he proceeded to make inquiry what people there was who called anything 'becos', and hereupon he learnt that 'becos' was the Phrygian name for bread. In consideration of this circumstance the Egyptians yielded their claims, and admitted the greater antiquity of the Phrygians.

"That these were the real facts I learnt at Memphis, from the priests of Vulcan. The Greeks, among other foolish tales, relate that Psammetichus had the children brought up by women whose tongues he had previously

cut out; but the priests said their bringing up was such as I have stated above." [5]

There is a double assumption here: first, that speech is inherited congenitally; and, second, that the earliest type of language must be the one produced by these children automatically, as it were. The absolute failure of a child of English-speaking parents to speak English when brought up from infancy exclusively in a French-speaking household is a trite example of the fact that speech is acquired. The articulate speech of man and the so-called speech of animals are entirely distinct. The inarticulate ejaculations of man alone are in the same category as the sounds made by animals.

Culture is a process of accumulation; the old may be retained and the new—an invention, for example—is shared alike by all the companions of the originator. A new trait in the biological world is usually obtained owing to a loss or a modification of the old.

This is brought out very clearly in the question of the power of flight,—inherited by animals, learned by man. There are gliders and fliers in the world of animals. The flying fish are gliders, obtaining a momentum by hitting the surface of the water with the tail. The pterodactyl, an extinct reptile, with a spread of eighteen feet, was probably a glider. Some of the birds are better gliders than fliers. The albatross is like an engineless airplane; it spreads its wings on a hilltop and, facing the wind, runs down the hill to get a start. Among the mammals, the bat is a flier; certain species of squirrels are gliders. Each has evolved its own system of wings; the pterodactyl had an elongated fourth finger to which was spread a membrane; the feathers of the bird form wings attached to the hand and arm bones; the bat has

a membrane not only between his fingers, but from fingers to feet and from feet to tail; the squirrel has its wing between the fore and hind legs with his tail used to "pancake." The same principle of physics is involved in human flight,—the problem of suspension of a body heavier than air. The birds have been studied by man in his attempts at flight, from the days of Leonardo da Vinci to the present time. The birds lost certain faculties when they developed wings, and a few of the vertebrates, the bats for example, went through structural changes of an extensive nature, losing entirely the power of terrestrial locomotion. They renounced their arms and legs for this change. Man in his learning to fly has renounced nothing. No changes have been necessary in his body nor in the functions of his body.

So it is with culture, a gradual accumulation of new ideas, new inventions, one leading to another and all alike serviceable to all mankind. They are not limited, as is the case with changes in bodily function and structure, to a single line of descendants. These changes in animals were brought about by necessity. The struggle for life in the air may have been less than that on the ground. If food was obtained in trees and danger was on the ground, the flying squirrel could go from tree to tree with no need of descending. Man did not develop flight from need, although this is often a factor in the development of new devices. Finally, take the question of time; millions of years were necessary to evolve flying birds from reptiles, and possibly more millions to mark off the bat from the other mammals. It was only twenty-one years ago that the Wrights made their first real flight, which lasted fifty-nine seconds.

Another example of this failure to recognize the differ-

ence between the biological and the social inheritance is the rather wide-spread opinion that miscegenation between certain races results badly, whereas race-mixture among other peoples is to be encouraged. There are no definite scientific data available which show that there are any important biological differences in the races of man, resulting in mixtures which in some cases can be classed as good and in others as bad. The good and bad results coming from certain mixtures are derived, so far as we now know, from the physical and mental character of the individuals concerned, and have little or nothing to do with racial factors. The social status of the classes in the races that intermarry plays an important part in the results of miscegenation. The Eurasian is usually cited as an example of a racial mixture which leads to a poor quality of offspring. The Hindu woman who so far forgets her caste as to marry a white man, and the white man who finds it possible to marry a Hindu, both usually belong in a social class below the average of each race. East thinks that, genetically, race-mixture is dangerous when two human stocks with equivalent hereditary endowments are considered, and that miscegenation is doubly dangerous when races differ in innate qualities. His argument is based mainly on the results of animal breeding.[6] The evils coming from such mixtures among animals have not been proved for man.

Miscegenation between two diverse stocks is shown in a recent examination by H. Shapiro, Fellow of the Bishop Museum of Honolulu, of the inhabitants of Norfolk Island in the southern Pacific, the descendants of the mutineers of the "Bounty." The present people living there are the results of a mixture between British sailors and Tahitian women. He reports that after five genera-

tions of very close inbreeding the physical results show no deterioration whatsoever but, on the contrary, the height and weight have increased over that of both parent stocks. He also informs me that he is convinced that there has been no mental deterioration. It should be remembered that the most diverse peoples have mingled since prehistoric times, and that these combinations have usually resulted in virile races.

Much has been written regarding the similarities between human and animal societies. Literature is full of the analogies between man and the animals. Democritus in the 154th fragment of his "Golden Sayings" writes: "In matters of great weight, go to school with the animals. Learn spinning and weaving from the spider, architecture from the swallow, singing from the swan and the nightingale." As one anonymous writer has pointed out, our forefathers sent the sluggard to the ant, a popinjay to the worm, a clown to the cow, and a fool to the owl. Even the flowers are drawn upon for human virtues: the violets are modest, the lilies are pure, and the roses passionate.

Professor Wheeler states in his book on *Social Life Among the Insects:* "The social insects . . . represent Nature's most startling efforts in communal organization and have therefore been held up to us since the days of Solomon as eminently worth imitating." He then goes on to draw some very striking parallels between human society and that of the social insects, they bequeath real estate, nests, pastures, and hunting grounds; they use their larvæ as shuttles in weaving the walls of their nests,—a suggestion, at least, of a parallel for the tools of man; they perform marvelous engineering feats: "our close rivals in controlling the inorganic

environment. . . . They are the only animals besides ourselves that have succeeded in domesticating other animals and enslaving their kind." [7]

These parallels, it must be confessed, are dramatic and appeal to the imagination; but they do not mean very much when the acquired characteristics of human society are considered.

The ants are social only in the biological sense. Their activities are indeed marvelous, their industry stupendous, but each movement is predestined by their organic constitution. They learn nothing new, their "culture" has been the same for at least fifty million years, with no additions or changes. No influences of a non-organic nature are ever felt. Human society is of an entirely different order. "Take a couple of ant eggs of the right sex—unhatched eggs, freshly laid. Blot out every individual and every other egg of the species. Give the pair a little attention as regards warmth, moisture, protection, and food. The whole of ant 'society,' every one of the abilities, powers, accomplishments, and activities of the species, each 'thought' that it has ever had, will be reproduced, and reproduced without diminution, in one generation." Hear what Graham Wallas has to say regarding the supposition that *human* culture be blotted out: "If the earth were struck by one of Mr. Wells's comets, and if, in consequence, every human being now alive were to lose all the knowledge and habits which he had acquired from preceding generations (though retaining unchanged all his own powers of invention and memory and habituation), nine-tenths of the inhabitants of London or New York would be dead in a month, and 99 per cent. of the remaining tenth would be dead in six months. They would have no language to

express their thoughts. . . . They could not read notices, or drive motors or horses. They would wander about, led by the inarticulate cries of a few naturally dominant individuals, drowning themselves, as thirst came on, . . . looting those shops where the smell of decaying food attracted them, and perhaps at the end stumbling on the expedient of cannibalism. Even in the country districts, men could not invent, in time to preserve their lives, methods of growing food, or taming animals, or making fire, or so clothing themselves as to endure a northern winter. . . . We have become, one may say, biologically parasitic upon our social heritage." [8]

The social insects are a purely biological group, and nothing more; man is a biological group and something so much more that the purely physical, outside the needs for perpetuation and preservation, is of comparatively little importance in his cultural life.

Monotypical Evolution

Granting the thesis that the nature of physical and cultural changes is entirely distinct, have we any right to speak of cultural evolution? This is possible if we understand by this term successions of forms, one leading to another, but we should also recognize the fact that there is no single line in the evolution of culture.

Many attempts have been made, however, to classify society into a number of distinct stages. This can be done only in a most general way. It is perhaps possible to say that man first developed tools, then domesticated his food supply in the animal and plant world, and finally domesticated power,—steam, electricity, and chemical elements. But there is often a failure to make a sharp distinction between the organic and the cultural

in the attempt to explain social changes on the basis of a single evolutionary theory.

It was quite natural for sociologists of the last half of the last century to conclude that, as the physical forms of man and of animals were thought to be linked together in a single series, so the social life of animals and of man was a single line of advance. We have in this, the single evolutionary series for the cultural stages of man, a single stairway up which all mankind is ascending. If a people find themselves on the third step, for example, it is because they have climbed the first two and are about to ascend to step four in the series. This evolutionary point of view is reflected in the works of authors on art and industries, religion and language, as well as on man's social life. According to this idea, man begins with realistic art and passes in definite stages through conventionalized to geometric forms. It can easily be shown that this movement may be in the opposite direction, a geometric figure changing into a realistic one. The desire to humanize makes a man's face in the circular moon, a skin tepee out of a triangle. Man, according to the monotypical evolutionary theory, is first a hunter, then a pastoral nomad, and finally an agriculturist. Basketry always preceded pottery in the order of industrial development. Take the social side: first we have promiscuity, followed by polyandry, polygyny or polygamy, with monogamy at the end of the series; or, again, promiscuity and polyandry with mother-right, followed by polygyny and father-right. There is always a definite series of stopping-places which the traveller passes in succession with no shortcuts and no detours.

Before attempting to show that this monotypical evo-

lutionary theory cannot be reconciled to the facts as we find them, let us consider one final point advanced to substantiate this theory. Tylor calls it the "geological argument." Just as the strata of the earth succeed each other in a definite series, so the strata of human society follow one another in an orderly manner. This is in spite of differences in race and language. Morgan, using the geological parallel, subdivides each of his terms Savagery, Barbarism, and Civilization, into lower, middle, and upper groups. Thus Middle Savagery begins with the acquisition of fire, Upper Savagery with the use of the bow and arrow. A Barbarian is distinguished from a Savage by his use of pottery, a Barbarian in the middle stratum has domestic animals if he lives in the Old World, or cultivates maize if he happens to live on this continent. Iron puts a people into the upper grade of Barbarism, and an alphabet takes them out of the Barbarian class and places them in the category of civilized peoples.[9]

By these criteria a Polynesian and an Australian would be placed in the same group. In reality, they are at opposite poles of primitive society. The use of iron as a test would push the West African ahead of the Cretan of Minoan times. It is needless to enlarge upon the artificiality of this method of classification. Many other authors have followed the same line of reasoning; each stage of advance is marked by a definite correlation with a complex of material and social ideas; each variety of environment produces more or less definite characteristics appearing in a precise series.

There is no attempt here to deny that there are important changes of culture, evolutions of culture, if you will; but not a single typical line of advance. Culture

cannot be pigeon-holed. There is no single formula for culture. The customs of a given people should be studied as a whole in their context, and this is possible only by the historical method. The factors of individual intelligence, thought, reason, and inventive powers, in the development of institutions and customs, are too rarely taken into account.

I have intimated the single evolutionary series through which man has gone on the physical side. Owing to several of the late discoveries of early types of man in Europe, there is strong reason to suppose that even on the physical side man did not have a monotypical evolution. Certain fairly well developed types of human skulls, such as the Piltdown and possibly the Galley Hill man, are encountered in the same early geological horizon as that which contains forms of man far lower in physical development. It is now almost impossible to reconstruct an ancestral tree without a large number of dead branches. We can, then, sum up by saying that early man's social history has not been along a single line of development.

Interpretation of Similar Phenomena

In spite of the fact that we do not find a single evolutionary line of cultural forms, the world is full of examples of customs that appear similar. This resemblance may be a fundamental one or it may be superficial. How are these similarities to be explained? If there were a monotypical evolution of cultural traits, similar customs might well be interpreted in the same way, as the assumption of an identical historical background is fundamental to this theory.

We deny once more a universal identity in cultural

evolution, but there is no doubt that we do find in some cases identical psychological, environmental, and cultural conditions producing similar customs. The forces necessary to bring this about are so varied and so numerous that an absolute parallel is by no means frequent. In this case we start with similar customs and end with similar results. This process is often called "psychic unity," or parallel evolution: a uniform mental, cultural, and environmental background producing customs that are, for all practical purposes, identical. We may find, on the other hand, that features that appear similar may have had a very different history leading back to dissimilar beginnings. This has often been called "convergent evolution." On the physical side the anthropoid apes, when compared among themselves, present a good example of this type.

The reverse of this is the argument that dissimilarity may arise from beginnings that are similar. We find, in this case, uniform beginnings developing along different lines, "divergent evolution." Man compared with the anthropoids furnishes an illustration of this.

So we have similar beginnings with similar endings, dissimilar beginnings with similar endings, similar beginnings with dissimilar endings, and dissimilar beginnings with dissimilar endings,—truly a confusing number of processes.

A far more obvious way to explain similarity in features of cultural life is by means of contact, dissemination of ideas from people to people. Let us consider this in some detail. Speech, fire, and some variety of cutting implement are found among all peoples, and these acquisitions seem to have been in the possession of man as long as man has been man. To these might

possibly be added: the belief that the world is peopled by spirits or souls; usually called Animism; certain forms of magic; string of some kind, and knots; and the domesticated dog. These are all world-wide in distribution. The general level of early man's mental ability, "the identity of the primary needs of life," and the more or less similar features of his environment make it evident that many of the features just mentioned were universally distributed among all peoples at a very early time in man's history, before his wanderings took place from his single cradle-land or, as data may come to be interpreted, from his several cradle-lands.[10] There is an increasing amount of evidence that seems to show, as already pointed out, several different lines of development on the physical side, and a corollary to this would be a multiple origin for mankind, the resuscitated theory of the polygenist.

Leaving behind these beginnings, shared by all mankind, it is well to consider in some detail the migration of ideas and of commodities of a more complicated nature from people to people. The study of Archæology has revealed the early and wide extent of trade. Amber beads found in graves scattered over a great part of Europe show that from the end of Neolithic times onward through the Bronze and Iron ages great trade routes were open, starting at the source of this amber on the west coast of Denmark and the southern shores of the Baltic, and reaching the Adriatic, and thence by water to all parts of the Mediterranean. Etruscan remains found in Brittany, England, and Ireland, as well as in Denmark and northern Germany, show trade in the opposite direction. The products of the Ægean civilization traveled long distances northward connect-

ing Switzerland, Bohemia, parts of Austria Hungary, and the lower Danube with Hissalik, Cyprus, and the Cylades. Remains have been found in Spain which can be traced to the earlier settlements of Troy.

The same wide-spread distribution of the spiral ornament also shows extensive migration. It is undoubtedly derived from the technique of bronze-working, the spiral wire in bronze furnishing the idea for its use in other mediums. It is first found on a common form of scarab decoration in the XIIth Dynasty in Egypt. It reached Crete before 2000 B.C., and like many other Cretan forms, it spread to the mainland and to the other islands. It is found on Neolithic pottery in Bosnia, from which it followed the amber routes along the Elbe to the North Sea shores of Jutland, thence into Scandinavia. It reached Spain and France and as far as the British Isles early in the Bronze Age. This same ornament also travelled northeast beyond the Carpathian Mountains.[11]

Folk-tales illustrate perhaps better than anything else the facts of wide-spread dissemination. Everyone is familiar with the Brer Rabbit stories told by Uncle Remus and his faithful chronicler, Joel Chandler Harris. These have long been considered entirely negro in origin, but the Tar Baby story, for example, is found in regions where the negro is a negligible factor in the population, as in Mexico and the Philippines.[12] Espinosa and Boas have been able to prove that these stories are not at all negro in origin, but come from Spain and Portugal. The Portuguese knew the whole of the Guinea Coast of Africa as early as 1480, and it was they who carried these stories to the negroes, who, in turn, brought them to America. The Spaniards carried them directly to Mexico and to the Philippines. In the same way many

of the Indian tales of eastern Canada are found, on careful examination, to be the same French fables as those collected by La Fontaine in the seventeenth century. An Indian background and point of view disguise these ancient French tales until they are sometimes almost unrecognizable.

It is not necessary for two peoples to be in the same stage of culture in order to share ideas, nor is it true that a more highly cultured people will never profit from customs of men on a lower level. Necessity makes borrowing possible, however different the planes of life may be. The spread of the corn culture of the American Indian among the early colonists of this country is a surprising example of this fact. The white settler "did not simply borrow the maize seed and then in conformity with his already established agricultural methods, or on original lines, develop a maize culture of his own. In fact, he has no basis for any claims to originality except in the development of mechanical appliances." He planted four or five grains in hills about three feet apart, hoeing the earth around it. He husked it with a pin of bone or of wood. He placed it in cribs elevated from the ground. Still following the Indian customs, he used fish for fertilization, and his preparation of the corn and its cooking were still along aboriginal lines. Corn was unknown in the Old World prior to the discovery of America, but it is mentioned in Europe in 1539, and had reached as far as China only a few years later.[13]

The spread of the horse in America is another example, often cited, to show the rapid conquest of a new idea. The typical Indian of the Great Plains is almost always shown in painting and in sculpture as riding on a horse, and yet the horse was probably unknown among the buf-

falo-hunting Indians until about the beginning of the seventeenth century.[14]

In each of the preceding examples of widely-spread identities or similarities of customs, there is in every case an historical basis for explaining them as the result of borrowing. With the absence of physical barriers, and taking into account the feeble means of communication in early times, the spread of new ideas and of foreign commodities was very extensive.

There is another kind of similarity, where a common historical background is not present. In this class customs appear as identical although occurring sporadically over the world and separated by wide areas where the idea is entirely absent. There is a long list of these: burial rites, exogamy, folk-tales and myths, stories of an eclipse, mother-in-law tabu, human sacrifice, bronze and iron working, the beginnings of writing, the use of a zero, and many others.

The simplest way to explain these similarities is, again, to attribute them to dissemination from a single center, with the corollary that the custom has been lost in the intervening areas where it is not now found. This is the argument used by the Rivers-Elliot-Smith School. The so-called "Heliolithic Culture" of Elliot Smith was made popular by Wells in his *Outline of History*. This school in general denies that the invention of a new idea can occur more than once.[15]

The "Heliolithic Culture" consists of a number of definite customs, a few of which are: circumcision, the *couvade* or the lying-in of the father, the erection of great stone monuments, irrigation works, sun and serpent worship, mummification, the artificial deformation of the head, tattooing, and the swastica design. Elliot Smith

places various kinds of dots on a map of the world, each variety designating one of these practices. Wherever one or more of these customs is found, it is to be traced back to Egypt as a center of dispersal. It took from 2000 to 3000 years for Egypt to assemble this list of inventions, and then a group set out about 800 B.C. to Heliolithize the rest of the world. Curiously enough, they dropped the idea of embalming in one place, of circumcision in another, and sunworship was taught in still another. Very rarely do we find that they deigned to supply any one people with the benefit of all their ideas. They were far more generous to the American aborigines than to many of the peoples in the intervening areas.

If a people in Central America started about the beginning of the Christian Era to set up stone monuments on which to present their elaborate system of hieroglyphic writing, the idea of erecting the stelæ came to them from Egypt. If the Incas prepared the bodies of their dead, buried them in dry sand, and mummification resulted, the idea was not original with them but can be traced back to Egypt.

This method of explaining superficial similarities as always due to contact goes back to the time of the Greeks. As Ferguson has pointed out, "The ancients were prone to consider all the circumcised peoples with whom they were acquainted, for example the Colchians and the Jews, as descendants of the Egyptians; and the Christian missionaries, better versed in the Bible than in anthropology, have been found predisposed to regard the circumcised Bantus of Central and South Africa as being in some mysterious fashion derived from the Lost Tribes of Israel." [16]

Similarities in customs, in ornaments, and in designs,

are always spectacular and appeal strongly to the imagination. The dilettante can always see resemblances and draw conclusions of contact. The defects of this method of thought are many: customs are torn from their context, and no attempt is made to obtain the historical background of each practice. Similarities may be due, as has already been pointed out, to convergent evolution or to similar inventions at different times and at different places. The means whereby these different customs are carried across oceans is not considered by adherents of this theory. The urge for this world-wide migration is due, according to Perry, a disciple of Elliot Smith, to the search for pearls and gold. Thus these immigrants came into the Maya area and are responsible for the development of this culture. It can be shown that the early Mayas have a few fresh-water pearls, but during the Great Period of their culture, at a time when they were erecting their greatest cities, there is no evidence of any knowledge of gold-working. This all came at a later time in their history. Distinctive and unique features of the Maya culture, such as the truly remarkable calendar system, are passed over completely by the supporters of this theory. And yet Perry writes: "This Maya civilization, so far as we know it, reproduces many characteristic elements of Asiatic culture, and has nothing peculiar to itself."[17] The unique features of this civilization—and the calendar is only one of these—are far more numerous and significant than certain characteristics that are termed "Asiatic." Truncated temple platforms, for example, do not owe their inception to the Egyptian pyramid. They are not pyramids at all in the true sense of the term. With one exception, there is not a single person who has engaged in modern

scientific exploration and excavation in the Maya and Mexican area who believes in the Asiatic origin of this culture.

The similarities in different phases of culture may be far more striking than those between the Maya and Asiatic regions and yet, in many cases, they too are but coincidences. In the Brer Rabbit stories I have shown evidence of transmission. Let me give here two stories with striking parallels, which seem to present no possibility of contact, but illustrate what is called "psychic unity."

The first of these tales is from the Northwest Coast of British Columbia. The mink is a boy or an animal, perhaps both, and he is playing with the ducks and beats them. They then begin to tease him and say, "You do not even know where your father is." The boy had never thought of this before and, running to his mother, asks her. She tells him that his father lives up in the sky and carries the sun every day. The boy wishes to visit his father; so his uncle makes him a set of bow and arrows and teaches him to shoot. He shoots the first arrow into the sun, where it remains; he sends the second into the end of the first, the third into the second, and so on, thus making a chain of arrows reaching from the earth to the sun. By this means he climbs into the heavens, where he finds his father, who allows him to carry the sun. All goes well until he reaches the top of the hill at the zenith of the sky. He gets uneasy and starts down the hill very rapidly; he kicks the clouds out of his way as he descends. His father's attention is called to the destruction taking place on earth. The trees are shriveling, the grass is parched, and all the creatures are suf-

fering. The father, snatching the sun from his boy, hurls the boy from the sky.[18]

It is not difficult to recognize here a very close parallel with the story of Phæthon, the son of Phœbus Apollo. He complains to his mother that someone has questioned the fact that he is the son of a god. His mother sends him to Phœbus to ask for himself. Phœbus Apollo, sitting on his throne, sees the boy and asks him what he is seeking. The youth replies, "Give me some proof by which I may be known as thine." His father embraces him, owns him for his son, and swears that whatever proof he may ask shall be granted. The boy immediately requests permission to drive the chariot of the sun for one day. The father tries to dissuade the boy. The first part of the way, he says, is steep; the middle is high in the heavens; and the last part of the road descends rapidly. The boy is not dissuaded, and Phœbus at last leads the way to the lofty chariot. The father reluctantly allows the boy to start, telling him to spare the whip and hold tight the reins. The steeds soon realize that the load they draw is lighter than usual; they dash headlong, leaving the travelled road. Phaethon grows pale and loses command of the horses. They rush unrestrained along unknown paths, now up in high heaven and now low almost to the earth. The clouds begin to smoke and Phaethon beholds the earth on fire. The earth looks up to heaven and prays Jupiter to end her agony at once by his thunderbolts. Jupiter, calling the gods to witness that all is lost unless some remedy be applied, brandishes a lightning bolt, launches it at the charioteer, and strikes him from his seat and from existence. Phaethon, with his hair on fire, falls headlong to the earth.

These two tales furnish a remarkable example, it seems to me, of coincidence, of similar features appearing at different times and under different conditions. In the preceding examples of similarities,—in the Brer Rabbit stories, for example,—we have seen a definite means of contact and the proof is beyond question. There is also contact shown in the distribution of the Magic Flight cycle of myths, which can probably be traced to a single origin. In the present case, however, the absence of any known possibility of physical contact, and the great stretch of country, barren of this myth, between the two regions, all seem to point to independent origins. This is negative evidence, to be sure, and this type of argument is always lacking in cogency. The ideas of the sun being identified in some way with the father, of its being carried or driven, and the movement of the sun from the east to the zenith as an up-hill road, and from zenith to west as a down-hill road, are not difficult to arrive at. The coincidences of customs as well as of myths are too well known to deny diverse origins in many cases.

In the search for explanation for similarities of ideas of objects, both dissemination and independent invention are needed. Historical backgrounds show dissemination over wide areas. A lack of historical background does not always imply a lack of dissemination. But where tales, ideas, customs, are found in widely separated areas with no possibility of contact, it is *possible,* it seems to me, to admit the probability of independent origin. The history of inventions is full of identities of this character, and yet the late Dr. Rivers denied in my presence the possibility of more than a single origin, a single invention, of even the bow and arrow. And

wherever the bow and arrow are found, they are to be traced back to the single source. Man's mind is too fertile, it seems to me, to deny similar inventions among two or more distinct peoples.

The Criteria of Progress

The application to the modern world of some of these theories will be considered next. There is no "one-way street" to cultural development. There are many avenues along which the different civilizations have travelled. There are varied values placed on many factors at different times and by diverse peoples. This brings numerous dilemmas into the discussion of the criteria of "progress."

It seems quite evident that there has been little or no progress or advance in man's physical body since the end of Palæolithic times. There has been, if anything, a degeneration. This is seen in the teeth and in the eyes.

When the progress of civilization is to be considered there is need first of all to determine what we mean by progress. If progress is defined as the increase of man's ability to control nature, the advance of man has been continuous since the earliest days of his history. But there are other factors to consider.

Graham Wallas writes, "Fifty years ago the practical men who were bringing the Great Society into existence thought, when they had time to think at all, that they were thereby offering an enormously better existence to the whole human race. Men were rational beings, and, having obtained limitless power over nature, would certainly use it for their good. . . . Now, however, that the change has come, hardly anyone thinks of it with the old undoubting enthusiasm. . . . The deeper anxiety of

our time arises from a doubt, more or less clearly realized, whether that development is itself proceeding on right lines." [19]

Specialization in the modern world is often thought of as progress, the specialized workman in the specialized industry, the specialized scientist. Our forefathers and primitive man before them specialized in nothing. The industrial, the economic, and the social life centered for the most part in the family. The modern division of labor and the interdependence of the various parts of society were unknown. Specialization in the physical world is not progress. The specialized type of jaw of the anthropoid ape, the arms of the gibbon for locomotion, the prehensile tail of the monkey, the specialized type of leg of the wading birds, are only a few examples. In the long period of time separating man from his nearest ancestors, the general organization of his body resulted in many changes, and in two respects he came out specialized, his legs for walking and his brain for thought. In many respects he is the least differentiated of all the primates. Specialization in the physical sense means rigidity. If the races of men were developed on the physical side along lines of specialization, such as is found in the animal world, we might expect to find watch-makers with fingers tapering to the finest point, and the blacksmith with a hammer-like appendage in place of one of his hands. But man's mental capacity enables him to develop limbs extraneous to his body, or, in other words, tools, and this ability is at the foundation of his industrial and social life. It is a question how far specialization in the social sense can go without bringing its own downfall.

Has the tremendous increase of knowledge brought

about by this specialization been accompanied by a corresponding increase in man's intellectual faculties? The answer is undoubtedly, No. Galton attempted in his *Hereditary Genius,* published in 1869, and in his later papers, to determine the places the various races held in the intellectual scale by counting the proportion of the number of men of genius discoverable in each race. In spite of certain fallacies in his theory, the results are instructive at this time. He found that the English were rated two grades lower than the Fifth Century Athenian.

Let us consider next the question of some of the so-called "finer things of life." We are certainly not now at the apex of man's achievement in art and music. The most sublime art is produced neither by our generation nor by the Anglo-Saxon people, and certainly the most beautiful music is a product foreign to our time. Nothing need be said of modern literature. The ethical conduct of the present world is a subject for discussion on every hand. Granting different standards of ethics for different peoples, and assuming that ethical conduct is tested by the ability of each people to live up to the standards of its own race, primitive man certainly committed fewer breaches of his ethical code than modern man.

We have admitted an increase in the control of man over nature, but what of this increase when *human* nature is considered? "Harmonious co-ordination among members of a group," "social harmony," "behavioristic equilibrium," have been advanced as some of the criteria of progress. If these are used as our test, there is very little we can call progress.

The marked improvement during the last few generations in the care of the poor, the sick, and the feeble-

minded, is distinctly an advance from the point of view of altruism. Granting to all social workers the sincerity of their efforts, the public as a whole is made to support these works of charity often by an appeal to selfishness; the better care of the sick is to prevent one from contracting a disease either by contagion or through inheritance; the amelioration of the condition of poverty is to prevent social unrest, and attempts to content the laborer with conditions as he finds them.

There are some efforts at the present time which can be considered as free from the charge of selfishness for their incentive; child labor is but one of these. The slow progress made in passing child-labor laws is but an indication of the far from progressive attitude of a portion, at least, of our population.

In the discussion of our immigration laws, there is much talk about "America a refuge for the oppressed," but a careful analysis of the motives of both factions reveals in one a desire for cheap labor and in the other an attempt to keep up the prices of labor.

It is not my intention to deny most creditable results on both the physical and the spiritual side to many of these efforts, but the point remains that their initiation and support can be traced in many cases to self-interest. The mere fact that the many agencies of social welfare are needed is in itself a reflection on the kind of progress we have in this generation. There is no doubt that from a purely physical standpoint the results are sometimes questionable. The mentally defective and the weakling are kept alive and allowed to perpetuate themselves to the detriment of the race. Galton writes, "Our human stock is far more weakly through congenital imperfection than that of any species of animals whether do-

mestic or wild." Sometimes, it seems to me, too little attention is given to the physically vigorous among the poorer classes.

Thus we do well to pause before answering the question, Does civilization progress? Has there been a "passage from hardship, fear, and pain to general comfort and happiness" except on the purely physical side?

Wallas suggests, "If we more often used Happiness instead of efficiency as our social criterion, it might be easier than it is now for the specialised business-men to realize, in this respect, the limitation of their ordinary fellow-citizens." [19]

George Bernard Shaw has asked in a recent lecture before the Fabian Society, "Is Civilization desirable?" and he adds that this is answered in the affirmative always in inverse ratio to the sensitiveness, intelligence, culture, and experience of the person answering it. Another writer has lately said, "We are hypnotized with the progress theory . . . the theory which shapes and colors the twentieth-century man's whole outlook on life, the theory, the superstition of progress, the fanatic belief that everything starts little and grows big, begins simple and becomes complex, sets out poor and becomes rich." [20]

The last few generations have learned to control nature to an amazing extent, and this has resulted, as Babbitt points out, "in an immense and bewildering peripheral enrichment of life." The "statistical proof of our material preëminence, which would have made a Greek apprehensive of Nemesis, seems to inspire in many Americans an almost lyrical complacency." [21]

But what about an increase in the control of man? There is certainly an inference that some regulation is needed in the flood of bills passed both by the national

and state governments on matters on which a decision was formerly in the hands of the individual. Does not the superficial idea of modern progress carry with it too great a weight of suggestion of our inherent greatness along all lines? The late War and its aftermath ought, it seems to me, to shatter at once some of the complacency that we entertain for our progress.

A final question may be asked: Are all social changes progressive? It is commonly argued that one phase of progress is from the simple to the complex. It is quite certain that complexity of culture does not mean a greater intellectual grasp of the rudiments of what makes life most worth while. Complexity implies the direction of intelligence toward contrivances, toward what President Angell calls "the paraphernalia of civilization." Mechanical equipment does not necessarily connote intellectual equipment. It is trite to say that college buildings do not make a college.

There is a decided danger in these steady, ever-increasing complexities, these complications of life. A return to the "simple life" is a topic for many sermons. Some phases of the simple life, simpler than we need, to be sure, but none the less, I think, instructive, are to be discussed in this book.

I have tried to show the difference between "nature and nurture," between physical form as something inherited and culture as something acquired. Secondly, I have endeavored to point out that all mankind has not in the past, and is not necessarily in the present, going along the same broad highway. There are wandering by-paths for some, leading away from the main road, and trails full of difficult turns for others. The third point

was an attempt to explain similar features of culture by dissemination where it will hold, and by "psychic unity" or independent invention as a feature to be reckoned with. Finally, it was pointed out that the "tide of progress" is sometimes an ebbing tide which may leave behind it flotsam and jetsam.

One should try as far as possible to free himself from the usual point of view of using our own civilization as a basis for our judgments of value of the varied factors of primitive life. The emotional quality of our judgments of people different from ourselves colors our ideas and opinions more than we are often willing to admit. It is difficult to have a rational view of anything different from that to which we are accustomed. Anthropology tries to realize the wide range of cultural phenomena and endeavors to recognize the setting in which civilized as well as primitive man lives.[22]

Complacency towards our own civilization should be tempered by Toleration in any consideration of peoples different from ourselves in cultural development.

CHAPTER II

THE NATURE OF THE SAVAGE AND OF HIS SOCIETY

Society is usually defined as an aggregation of human beings with a common basis of subsistence, banded together through instinct or volition for purposes of mutual welfare and common defense. This definition applies quite as well to many forms of animal societies. An attempt will be made here to point out some of the differences which seem to exist between human and animal associations.

Origin of Human Society

What are the "elemental social facts" that mark off human aggregations from all other phenomena? It is possible to pass over completely the contract theory, long discarded, the theory of Hobbes, of Locke, and of Rousseau. They assume that men are isolated units, and they argue that human association comes into being as the result of reason, and hence it is artificial in construction. The antithesis of this idea is seen in the organic theory, which had its beginnings in the writings of Plato and Aristotle, but received its main support from the theory of organic evolution. Spencer is the

chief exponent of this school. According to this view, human society is an organism, and Spencer went so far as to arrange various peoples in an ascending series, each corresponding to some form of early animal life: the Protozoa, with minute cells, to the Veddahs of Ceylon; bodies with clusters of cells to the Bushmen; Low Cryptogams to the Fuegians; High Cryptogams to the Australians; and so on upward.[1]

It is hardly necessary to point out how completely this organic theory of society fails to satisfy the facts. I have already remarked upon a common inability to distinguish the physically organic and the congenital from the cultural. Society is not a great animal, and it is still doubtful how much man actually inherits from his animal ancestors in the way of social life.

Granting the necessary amount of association among the same kind of animals for propagation and for obtaining food, is there in animal society anything else? Darwin was not able to explain man as a social being. He states that he is unable to conjecture how social structure could have been evolved from the kind of association found among animals.

The usual argument runs somewhat as follows: Man is a highly developed animal; hence his society must be a higher development of animal society. The associations of man have something in them which is not based on propagation and obtaining a food supply. Culture is the result of man's mental development, of his ability to think and to consider abstract propositions, of his self-consciousness. Thought develops the tool of thought, language, and language makes possible the communication of ideas. Articulate speech is not found among animals. As there is a large gap between the mental

development of the ape and of man, within which speech came to the being later called man, so also is there a gap between animals and man on the social side. It is a difference not only of quality but also of kind, made so by the possession of articulate speech and mental faculties not even foreshadowed in man's nearest ancestors known to us. "We are born with a tendency, under appropriate conditions, to think," writes Graham Wallas, and "man would not have been able to create the enormous intellectual gap between himself and the other animals if he had not also evolved the disposition of Language." [2]

Society, then, is the result of man's intelligent cooperation, and its roots are in the remarkable development of the brain. The inherent physical deficiencies for defense and offense in man, as compared with the other animals, made it necessary for him to provide himself with artificial means of security. His brain gave him the power to invent protective measures. Given food and this brain, society was possible. The economic and psychological factors are far more important than those of a biological nature. At no time can the thread between the non-human and human society be said to have been broken, but it is so slender a thread that very little that is social can be attached to it.

It cannot, of course, be denied that there are animal traits seen in all forms of human association. They are always present, but these in themselves would not have developed human society as we know it even among the lowest savages. Biological interests such as sex, hunger, heat and cold will always be factors in human society, but they are not the causes that produced it.

Human society is not, then, according to this view, based upon organic structure derived from non-human

animals. The interaction of mind upon mind, the ability to discuss, to interchange ideas, to think, are fundamental in human society. Its structure is mental; so the psychological basis is the only proper one for our examination of the origin of human association. The change in the trend of thought from the biological to the psychological conception is to be noted in the change in nomenclature. Formerly, society was explained in terms taken from biology—function, structure, heredity, and variation—and now such terms as social mind, desire, volition, sympathy, consciousness, and will are most commonly used to describe certain phases of human association.[3]

This psychological theory has been explained in many ways. There seems to be an inclination for many investigators to find a slogan to settle the whole question with a phrase or in a single word; the "Consciousness of Kind" of Giddings, "Imitation" of Tarde, "Tradition" of Small, "Contact" of DeGreef. The complexity of human association is so great that it is not possible to find a single phrase to explain the beginnings of society. Imitation will not start anything, but is, of course, a most important factor when an idea is once launched. Contact is essential. "Consciousness of kind" explains the ethnocentric character of early as well as of many modern societies, and the love of tradition is one of the causes for the slow progress of many peoples. All of these factors are needed in our explanation of society.

It would be difficult to understand the cultural history of man were one to agree with some sociologists that "the horde of savage men is simply a mass of practically identical specimens of a species, just like a shoal of fish or a herd of buffaloes. That is, so long as the health-

interest alone is in working force, there is no such fact present as a human individual. The specimens in the aggregation are not individualized. Each presents the same dead level of characteristics that appear in all the rest. So far nothing but the animal kingdom is in sight."[4] So long as man has been man there must have been differences in mental capacity. The man-horde is a figure more picturesque than true. Even among animals there is no reason to suppose that all are equally alert. Individuals always stand out from the crowd, and this was probably no less true among the first men. It is certainly the case among primitive peoples of the present day; personal eccentricities of action, both mental and physical, are always noted among savages. In other words, the "great man" stands out among his fellows; he it is who initiates new ways of doing things. In a community at war, it is the bravest warrior; in a hunting community, the best hunter; in a village given over to industry, it may be the best potter.

A few years ago, one of the finest pottery-makers of the Southwest, a woman of the Pueblo of San Ildefonso, invented a new method of decorating her jars. The innovation was immediately recognized both by Indian and by white man as a distinct improvement over the older forms of decoration. The *Cacique* of the village gave the inventor a proprietary right to her new method, a patent as it were, for one year. She alone could profit from the results of her skill and ingenuity. After the year was up other potters imitated the new method and the market is now flooded with the new ware, but Maria's jars are easily recognized by her superior technique.

Thus the dexterous individual with his or her hands invents new ways of doing things as the expert with his brain brings about innovations in cultural life. In other words, the mentally alert originate and the others imitate. Each feature of the culture of a people, which is not borrowed from the outside, must necessarily be traced back to one person. Many minds may have been at work to solve a problem, but the initial spark of a new idea is probably an individual product within the same people. This does not deny that similar solutions may have been arrived at independently among two different peoples, whether or not simultaneously. The psychological contact between the originator and the mass of followers is one of the fundamental bases of society.

Sociologists have often found it difficult to describe successfully the nature of civilized society, where the conditions are more or less uniform. This situation is far from being the case in primitive life. There are peoples still living who illustrate all the grades of culture from the later Stone Age onward. The gradations are sometimes almost imperceptible and the border line between the uncivilized and the civilized is non-existent unless some definite and arbitrarily chosen criterion is used. Morgan used the alphabet as his test for separating the savage from civilized man.

Causes Underlying Divergences in Cultures

What are the fundamental reasons for these differences in peoples: retardation in the culture of some; acceleration in that of others? We are concerned here only with the beginnings of the movement, with the hypotheses not of history but of pre-history, although these theories often apply to both fields.

Racial Theory

How are the differences in the cultural levels of man to be explained? The answers to this question have been many and varied. One group of writers claims that a biological difference in races is responsible for peoples in different stages of development. Granted that the differences in the life of various species of animals are due mainly to their biological constitution, the differences in the races of men are so slight, from a physical, physiological, and psychological basis, that this would not necessarily hold true for man. According to the theory of the Racial School, there are inherent inequalities in races. The argument will be advanced later that most of the differences between races are due to something other than blood. This racial theory is the happy hunting-ground for a small group of pseudo-scientists who have a veneer of anthropological method covering up a substratum of conjecture, prejudice, and most unscientific methods of thought. Some would make Christ a Nordic blond. Günther makes Napoleon a member of the same race, although we know he was short and dark, a Mediterranean with probably some Alpine mixture; and he also makes Ludendorff a Nordic, although the world knows he has a head like a bullet. Cleopatra was, of course, a Nordic, as she had blue eyes.

This theory is called by Giddings "an anthropological theory of history," although practically every American anthropologist has rejected it. He adds, very truthfully, that it "has most mischievously confounded biological, psychological, and cultural facts." [5] The fundamental racial characteristics have comparatively little to do with culture. In the first place, civilizations have been

achieved by at least two of the three great groups of mankind, the White and the Mongolian. Furthermore, both civilized and uncivilized man are found in the same group. The White division of mankind has, according to this racial speculation, certain inherent characteristics of greatness, but it is only the Nordic subdivision that receives the honor of first place. The first objection to this theory is that the three European races, the Nordic, the Alpine, and the Mediterranean, are so thoroughly mixed that it is difficult, outside of the Scandinavian countries and the southern tip of Italy, to find any countries or communities where one of these races is in anything like a pure state. The great civilization centering around the Mediterranean were built by a pure race, the Mediterranean. The first place should be given to these people and not to the Nordic, for it was they who were mainly responsible for the beginnings of what we call our civilization, and they held sway over all the other peoples of Europe for a far longer time than any other. Up to a comparatively late time, the culture of the Nordics was a derived culture, not an original one. It is true that they showed great energy and powers of domination after they had once started, but this was within the last few hundred years, and after they had profited by all the slow accumulation of culture of their Alpine and Mediterranean neighbors. There is not an essential known feature of human culture which has an origin outside the tropical and subtropical regions.

Environment

Another theory to account for the differences in the cultures of the peoples of the world is the environmental. Anthropo-geography is the term used by Ratzel, who

was one of the first of the modern exponents of this theory. Buckle's *History of Civilization in England* (1857-1861) belongs to the same school. He tried to contrast those influences of nature which led to emotional reactions, such as religion and magic, and those which led to intellectual achievements. No great minds were to be expected in regions of violence, destruction, and great cataclysms of nature. Here only terror and superstition were to be found. It was in regions free from these horrors, where nature was evenly disposed, that science and culture had their origin. It is needless to comment on this kind of reasoning.

Environment is certainly one of the influential factors brought into play in the life histories of peoples. The statement is often made that primitive man is completely a creature of his environment, whereas civilized man transforms his environment to suit his needs. This is not the place to enlarge upon the marvellous character of the modern changes in environment, but it should be noted in passing that all living primitive peoples outside the tropics or the Arctic regions are occupying at the present time localities of far greater adversity than when they were the sole possessors of the soil of a country. The white man's progress has been the one main cause for the degradation of the savage within historic times. The most outspoken adherents of this theory of physical geography find it responsible for practically everything in the life of man.

The following quotation is from the Introduction of the *Cambridge Ancient History,* and shows the absurd lengths to which environment can be stretched to account for physical and cultural traits. "The yellow skin-colour of Mongoloid man gives him protective camou-

flage in sandy desert and dry-grass steppe; the structure of his straight wiry hair, and its rarity except on the scalp, suggest adaptation to a continental climate; while its extreme length in both sexes serves to disguise the characteristic profile of the human head and neck, and approximate it to that of the quadruped seen from behind. From the rather prominent jaw combined with globular brain-case may be inferred long habituation to some food which minimized the pull of the jaw muscles on the side-walls of the skull; and the only food which fulfills this condition is milk and its products, on which nomad Tartars still live almost exclusively: the absence of face-hair, the short concave nose with spread nostrils and peculiar infantile lips, the wide flat face and obliquely set eyes, find explanation if we suppose that for long this milk was absorbed direct from the udder; and the short legs of some Mongoloids, and poor development of the calf-muscles in all, suggest that the parasitic proto-Mongol, like Tartar infants nowadays, sat tight upon his host between meals, and shared its wanderings." [6]

Let us consider some of the effects of environment upon the physical and cultural life of man.

Environment, during the later stages of man's history, seems to have had surprisingly little effect upon the physical side of his being. Pigmentation has usually been considered to be due to climate. Whatever factors are responsible for the color of skin and of hair, and these are still undetermined, there is no doubt that dark-skinned people in general live in the lower latitudes and blonds in the higher latitudes. Heat and sun were probably responsible for the deposition of pigment in the dark-skinned races, but it cannot be proved that the

fair European peoples lost their pigment as the result of the diminished action of sunlight. Lack of light does not necessarily mean bleaching, as fair skin is a fœtal characteristic. The plasticity of man on the physical side was probably greater in the early days of his history than it is now: Tanning is nature's remedy temporarily to protect the white man from the rays of the sun.

There is the greatest contrast in the force of environment upon the physical character of man and of animals and plants. The transportation of an animal or a vegetable to a territory with new climatic conditions often brings about with surprising rapidity many morphological changes. Man makes his adjustments, not by physical changes in his body, but by protective inventions originating in his brain.

The psychical effects of environment should next be considered. The temperament, the literature, and the music of the southern Italian in contrast with these features among the Russians, for example, have often been explained in large part from an environmental basis. Race temperament has never been satisfactorily analyzed and it is impossible to say how great a part geographical factors play in its composition.

Leaving aside for the moment the question of the relative mental potentiality of different races, there is little doubt that the white man in the tropics is not usually a success. How much of this is due to physical environment and how much to social adjustment are still undetermined.

Some would have us believe that ethical codes are determined largely by geographical conditions, but good and bad morals are found among all peoples in all climes. The criteria of ethical conduct are to be discussed later.

Environment has a large part to play in the social life of a people. It may determine the size of the group. In a region of great inhospitality, such as the northern littoral of this continent, a sparse population given over to hunting and fishing is alone possible under primitive conditions. Agriculture is out of the question. In regions of a less adverse character, the environment may play a smaller part. The earliest inhabitants of New England, for example, hunted their game here. Later aborigines cut down a portion of the forest and cultivated a part of the land. The earliest white settlers came and felled more of the trees and brought the land under a more intensive cultivation. There was no change of environment, but changes in the cultural life of the inhabitants. It is not always true that a hunting people are lower in the scale of culture than an agricultural community. The monotypical evolutionist has the hunter first, then the pastoral nomad, and finally the agriculturist. Some hunting and fishing peoples are found higher in the scale than their agricultural neighbors. Nor does the possession of an animal possible for domestication always bring about this domestication. The Chuckee of northeastern Siberia, influenced, no doubt, by the Tungus tribes to the south and west, brought the reindeer under domestication, but the Eskimo failed to do this and only hunted this animal. The Indian elephant was domesticated, the African variety was not. There is, therefore, no necessary correlation between domestication of animals and environment.[7]

It has often been pointed out that the forms of marriage are dependent upon geographical surroundings. Polyandry was formerly considered the typical form of marriage only in adverse environments where it took

more than one man to support a wife. It will be shown later that there is little correlation between polyandrous marriages and physical conditions.

The economic life of a people is naturally the resultant of the environment. An abundant supply of food is the first essential for a prosperous population, but it can be shown that a struggle for food is sometimes a factor in the achievements of man. Where population outgrows its food supply a pressure may be brought to bear which gives rise to new inventions. In regions of low rainfall the adversity of nature may spur man on to build irrigation works, provide for a storage of water, and invent intensive means for cultivating food. This is the usual argument employed to account for the origin of agriculture in our own Southwest, but, as Kroeber has shown, the introduction of maize cultivation in this area was due to borrowing from the peoples to the south.[8] The subaridity of the climate was probably a factor, however, in developing a special kind of dry-farming suitable to the conditions present there.

The failure of environment to play its expected part on every occasion is worthy of note. Cultural inertia is often too great to be overcome. The Pueblo and Navajo tribes of the Southwest are often cited in this connection. Both peoples have been residents of this country for hundreds of years and yet their houses, clothing, social customs, and religion are quite distinct. Borrowings by the Navajos from the Pueblo peoples have been frequent, but two different patterns of life still persist. The force of environment has not been strong enough to bring about a single complex of customs. Furthermore, it is perfectly possible to find more than one successful reaction to the same environment.

The industrial life of a people is dependent to a considerable extent upon environment. There can be no pottery where there is no clay. But there can be a supply of clay and no pottery. A good clay formation does not automatically start a pottery industry. Cultural inertia may prevent a people from making use of the products of a new country into which they move.

Environment may affect religion. The geographical situation of the Egyptians, in a narrow and fertile valley with the desert directly on the east and west, tinged their entire idea of the other world. The native peoples of the Southwest need rain, and most of their religious ritual is directed towards placating the rain gods and imploring them to come.

The physical background of a people may show itself in language. An extensive study, often called "Linguistic Palæontology," has been built up on this fact. This method was applied by Benfey as early as 1868 in his search for the original home of the Aryan language. Early roots in the Indo-Germanic group of languages, for bear, wolf, the oak tree, the beech, and the fir, with an absence of any for the tiger and the palm, postulated a European origin for the parent language. Difficulties immediately arose, and the long continued discussion of this method bears evidence of its general failure to work in tracing geographical origins. The extensive borrowing of words and the often surprising similarity of sounds in root words of non-related languages are but examples of the danger, already shown, of laying too much stress on superficial similarities.[9]

The movements of peoples are often determined by environment. The absence of barriers does not, however, always bring about shifting of populations. In

northern California, peoples speaking different languages are sometimes found on opposite sides of a narrow river. The Mediterranean area, where movement by water was possible in all directions, shows a cultural distribution dating from very early times. Semple has pointed out in this connection the history of the Mohawk Valley, the only decided break across the entire range of the Appalachian mountain system. In the early days it was the main trail for Indians going inland from the Atlantic seaboard. The French and English in their struggle for supremacy in the New World fought here. Again in the Revolution the control of the Mohawk-Hudson route was the objective of the British armies on the Canadian border; and, finally, in the War of 1812, Perry used it in obtaining control of the Great Lakes. The grooves of travel across a country were first found by the aborigines, and often a modern railroad system follows the same path.[10]

Knowing as much as we do about the shiftings of populations, and more especially the wide-spread migration of commodities and ideas, there seems to be an undue emphasis upon physical barriers within the same continental area. The great oceans alone seem to have served as bars to travel, as there are no clearly proved migrations in pre-Columbian times either westward across the Atlantic to the New World or eastward across the Pacific. The points of contact between Asia and North America at Behring Strait served in all probability for the advent of man into the New World, and it has since served for an abundant interchange of customs of the Eskimo into Siberia and of Siberian ideas into Alaska.

The great adaptability of man as well as of animals to all kinds of climate is a factor always worthy of con-

sideration. Under an adverse environment progress may be slow, but the adjustment may be a perfect one. This is best brought out among the Eskimo, where the relation of population to land, clothing, shelter, and food, tools and weapons, all combine to make life possible in an arctic environment. Stefansson has shown that the native methods of living are more suitable in every way to the climate than anything that the white man can devise. Man is the most versatile animal when it comes to an adjustment to his geographical surroundings. The question of food supply alone keeps the white man away from the colder parts of the earth. Stefansson has tried to show in his *Friendly Arctic* that colonization and exploitation of the subpolar region is possible. Take the other extreme. "A warm climate enervates" is the usual expression employed in describing the handicap of civilization in the tropics. And yet we find in Egypt, India, Cambodia, Java, and Central America remains of civilizations which show the result of perhaps the greatest expenditure of physical energy ever exhibited in the history of the world. As Spinden has remarked, white colonization in the tropics is not so much a question of climate as a problem of conquering the parasites of disease which, like everything else in a warm country, grow unhampered until brought under control.[11] The case of yellow fever at Panama and in Latin America in general is an outstanding example of the success which may be accomplished. The same will doubtless be done in the case of malaria and other parasitic diseases. The tropics can possibly be made available for the white man and we shall probably hear less of "enervation."

It must not be forgotten that man probably became man in the tropics, and that all the crucial steps in

human progress took place in a warm climate. An adjustment to a cold climate is purely one of culture. There is no clear proof that physically man has made any adaptation to climate. The nose of the Eskimo may show a change resulting from climate, but this is by no means certain. Without the benefits of culture, in the rôle of clothing and housing, for example, man could not live outside the tropics.

Too much stress ought not to be laid on environment for several reasons. First, distinct cultures are found in identical physical surroundings. In the Southwest, we have already noted the radically different Navajo and Pueblo peoples. In Africa, we find the Bantus and the Pygmies in identical physical surroundings, but with distinct cultures. Secondly, great civilizations are to be found in an adverse environment. Mesopotamia furnishes an example of this. Thirdly, crude cultures are to be found under most favorable situations, as in California with its tribes of most backward natives. Fourthly, the fall of great civilizations has occurred with no change of environment, as in Greece and Rome. Fifthly, customs adopted in an unfavorable environment often persist when a change is made to more favorable conditions; and, lastly, cultural traits may even disappear when least expected. The people living on Torres Straits and those inhabiting Easter Island lost their means of navigation.

Environment furnishes the "bricks and mortar," the materials for culture, more especially for that part of it which is objective. The way in which these materials are to be used—their selection, their order, and the general plan of the structure to be erected with them—is a question of the capacity and social inclinations of the

builders. There are good architects and bad ones using the same material. Environment is a "limiting condition."

It is not the new physical environment of the New World that changes our foreign immigrants within a few generations into Americans, but the cultural and social environment. It has been recognized that the Americanization of our foreign population is to be accomplished by education, by contact. When there are large homogeneous colonies of foreign-born in the large cities with their own customs and their own languages, there is little or no contact possible except in the case of the children, and the process of change is a very slow one. Cultural inertia is found here as well as in more primitive communities.

Man has an innate equipment for culture as the result of his generalized form and his large brain capacity. He is equipped with the body to use tools and his power of reflection shows him the way in which he can manufacture and employ mechanical devices. The ability to reflect gives him a religion, a ritual. It enables him to argue that he may obtain an abundance of game provided he draws upon the walls of his cave pictures of the animals he hopes to capture.

An attempt has been made, up to this point, to show that society cannot be explained as a biological organism, and that the innate tendencies of man do not in themselves create culture. It has also been noted that the inert character of the environment cannot entirely explain the difference of social levels on which the races of mankind are found.

We hear much about "original man." If this means the first animal which might be called man, we know

nothing except a few hints about his physical body. Anthropology sometimes tries to deduce the nature of the culture of original man by what archæology can tell us, but principally by the thesis that he must be something like what we find among the lowest known savages, It must not be forgotten that even the lowest races of man now living have a culture hundreds of thousands of years away from that of first man; and when we remember that culture is built by accumulation, however slow, one should hesitate before painting this original man in a very strong light.

The Group Mind

Some psychologists, particularly the French School, would have us believe that society has a group mind, that the personal units of society play little part in this. There is a sort of "moral organism," as McDougall expresses it, made up of individual parts and having a definite purpose. Some adherents of this theory believe that in this collective consciousness the resultant shows a complete fusion, the individual playing but a small rôle in this "synthesis." He is only the link, the carrier of custom transmitted from one generation to another. Freedom of action is sometimes denied the individual. Imitation is a strong force in all grades of societies, but it is the individual mind, the "great man," who initiates, who invents new ways of action. One man cannot produce a culture, but the accumulation of the activities of individual minds results in a culture.[12]

This does not deny that great movements are bigger than the individual, and that the great mass of mankind do nothing more than float along on the waves of social reform, or movements in art and industry. But we must

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not forget that there are those who prefer to remain on the shore, and those who, although floating in this stream, have their anchors down and, when they move, set their rudders for certain direct courses.

Society is the resultant of personal units. There is little social sentiment except through the medium of individual consciousness. Personal merit and initiative are probably more immediately recognized in primitive society than in modern life. Where the life of a tribe is full of crises, stress of circumstances develops a leader. Individual fitness for leadership, politically, socially, and from the military point of view, is usually demanded among the most primitive peoples. In higher grades of savage society and in the modern world, where government has been crystallized, personality plays a far less important part.

The Savage and Civilized Man

Many attempts have been made to draw distinctions between savage and civilized man upon the psychological side. Robinson states that there are four historical layers underlying the mind of modern man: the animal mind, the child mind, the savage mind, and the traditional civilized mind. Our animal nature comes out most prominently in matters of sex, the necessity of sleep, thirst, and hunger. Our child mind is seen in the play proclivities, which ought to be a component part of every normal individual.[13] Our savage mind is one of the main subjects of this book. These strata,—the animal, the child, the savage, and the civilized natures,—it seems to me, are not laid horizontally, one covering the other, but they are tipped vertically, so that no one is completely covered by another. Each appears to a

greater or less degree in the mind of every civilized man. If these factors are all present (and I think they are) an attempt to show definite stages of advance from the animal to the savage, and from the savage to civilized man, is almost futile. The continuity of cultural life from the lowest forms to those of the modern world makes it impossible to draw distinct lines separating the categories of culture.

Instinct

A favorite topic for discussion in regard to the nature of animal and human society, and of savage and civilized society, is the factor of instinct. The usual argument is that as human society is an outgrowth of the social life of animals, so human society takes over the instinctive equipment of the animal world. There is nothing to cause its loss. The older argument was that as instincts are stable and unchangeable, so early society is stable, hence instinctive; or the other way round,—early society is instinctive, hence it is stable.

Many psychologists are now willing to agree that the principal instincts or "predispositions" of man are liable to modification of their motor parts, while their central parts remain unchanged.[14]

There is a large mass of literature upon instincts. Various attempts have been made to classify them. No two authorities agree as to their number or their character. There are two main difficulties in any classification. The first is an almost total ignorance of the way newly-born babies react to stimuli of various kinds. Watson has shown by experiments that the fear instinct in infants can be aroused only by the sense of falling and by a loud noise.

The second difficulty in any classification of man's "predispositions" is found in the fact that there is no inclusiveness, but a general overlapping. The parental instinct may include fright, pugnacity, and acquisition. One runs into another,—fright into pugnacity. Everything man does has a double basis,—partly inherited and partly acquired.[15] I have already tried to show that from the point of view of human culture we can eliminate almost everything but those characteristics of man which he learns from his fellow man. Graham Wallas writes, "In the case of man, this irradiation of instinctive action by intelligence shades into processes in which intelligence acts as an independent directing force." [2]

Wissler has said that "man inherits a single 'pattern,' just as the ant inherits an 'ant pattern.' " [16] Let me amplify the figure and say that man inherits some of the factors necessary to make a pattern,—the warp alone is there to hold the fabric together; but the woof, the filling-in of the pattern, is a product of man's own invention, something he learns, and quite apart from any innate characteristics which he may have. How can there be so many different fabrics made on this warp, and so varied designs in these textiles, if this filling-in process all came from inborn tendencies? Man's environment gives him the materials for his fabric. The design grows out of his inventive faculty. Some people in making this textile allow the warp to show through; others cover it up completely with the woof; still others so manipulate the warp that a few of the threads may be eliminated altogether.

Let us limit ourselves in this discussion to the primary instincts of sex and hunger,—the old-fashioned, if you

will,—"love quest and food quest." These are fundamental in the history of the family.

Savage society has been described as largely made up of instinctive reactions. So far as these two instincts, love and hunger, are concerned, the savage has evolved methods of dealing with these that seem to show effective results; and prove, it seems to me, that primitive man is not the unbridled individual who gives way to his inclinations at all times and in all places. The elaborate systems of sexual tabus, found in all early societies, prove a part of this thesis. His continence before battle, during the pregnancy of his wife and often for some time after the birth of a child, and during the preparation and celebration of some religious festival, all show this factor pointing away from self-indulgence. The strict laws of marriage, often greatly limiting the choice of a wife, and stringent punishments for adultery found among some peoples, all point in the same direction. The prohibitions regarding food of certain kinds are many. Sometimes an abundant source of food is cut off completely from the enjoyment of an individual or a whole group in the community. It is doubtful if the average man in civilized society has learned to repress these two instincts in any degree comparable with that of his less fortunate brother.

Some Characteristics of Primitive Man

In this discussion of the nature of the savage it is well to correct, if possible, some of the popular misconceptions regarding his natural equipment for life. I have just tried to show that the savage knows how to restrain himself along sex lines.

A common impression is abroad that primitive man

has a greater keenness of the senses than that possessed by civilized man. Travellers' tales are full of examples to prove this point. There is a general agreement that there is no detectible evidence to show that the primitive man has any great and inherent advantage over the white man in respect to the senses. The blunting of our faculty of sight by fine print and artificial light, of hearing by the unextinguishable noises of our civilization, and an increase in the acuteness of our sense of feeling by clothes and artificial heat, are all unnatural factors coming from our social environment.

The savage's ability in the hunt is thus due not to a greater keenness of the senses of sight and of smell, but to high powers of observation. He knows when and where and how best to capture the animal he is after, by an intimate knowledge of the habits of that animal. He reads and interprets the signs of nature and of life around him in a way known only to a few white men. Trained observation and memory are common factors in savage life.

I once witnessed one of the complicated nine-day ceremonies of the Navajos. It was in the month of November, which is the favorite time for this "Night Chant." On the sixth day the shaman who was conducting the rites took a sharpened end of a bone and, apparently at random, made two different groups of holes in a gourd rattle. The first set of perforations was later identified as the constellation of Auriga, and, below this, was a partial representation of Ursa Major. The second group of holes showed in succession the Pleiades, the Hyades, and the constellation of Orion. Both these groups represent sky gods of the Navajos, and they are seen respectively in the northern and southeastern sky at

about midnight in the month of November in the Southwest. The shaman, although inside the *hogan* or ceremonial lodge when he made his holes, knew the heavens well enough to represent with remarkable accuracy the appearance of these stars at the time the rite was being performed.

At another time I was studying the life of the Lacandones, a "savage" people in the midst of the Guatemalan bush, isolated from all contact with the white man. During my first visit I had taken numerous photographs. On my return for a second season, I showed them with keen interest, anxious to observe the reaction to what must have been their first contact with photography. To my amazement and disappointment the pictures created no interest whatsoever. The children were soon playing with them as pieces of paper, in itself a bit of civilization with which they were unfamiliar. There was no esoteric aversion to the pictures as far as I could make out. The only explanation I could suggest was that they could *see* them. These people had probably never before beheld anything in three dimensions reproduced on a flat surface except, possibly, their reflections in the water. Furthermore the reduction in size of their figures required a mental adjustment new to them in order to comprehend that the inch-high forms in the photographs represented themselves. It was not that their sense of sight was poor, but that it lacked accommodation to the novel conditions.

A factor, usually placed upon the debit side of the ledger for primitive man, is his inability to concentrate on any one thing for any length of time. This judgment is based entirely upon the fact that the savage will not often bring his mind to bear on the things which

do not interest him and which he does not understand. It is, it must be confessed, somewhat difficult for us to realize what may interest and what may bore. The story is told of a band of Indians who were brought from the West to Boston many years ago, during the first days of the telephone. Their white guides predicted an amazement on the part of the Indians when they should hear a voice speaking over the wire,—but on the contrary: the Indians easily explained it as the voice of a spirit, and it aroused no great interest, much to the disappointment of their white friends. They were taken to Lowell and visited the knitting mills. They who were accustomed to watch their wives working for weeks and possibly months upon a blanket, now saw one being made before their eyes in a few minutes. This it was which excited them to a pitch of enthusiasm for the white man's ingenuity. This fitted into their background and was properly valued.

Has primitive man a greater susceptibility to stimuli of an emotional nature, and is this susceptibility of a different order from that of civilized man? There are two questions here, the first referring to quantity and the second to quality. Both these questions fall within the scope of experimental psychology, but practically nothing has been done along these lines.

As for the measure of quantity of emotional reactions in the two fields of savage and civilized life, there are some indications that cause one to hesitate before saying, categorically, that the emotional states of primitive man are far more quickly brought into play and are far greater in quantity than is the case with those living in a state of civilization. The ignorant of our own population share to a great extent the same tendency towards

emotions as that shown by primitive man, extreme nervous susceptibility. There is reason to think that the subordination of reason to feelings is to be found more fully developed among our ignorant than among primitive people. The savage is often thought to be acting "unreasonably," but careful investigation may show him to be carrying out a series of acts unnatural and unreasonable to us, but rational from his point of view. Primitive man seldom does anything without some definite idea behind his actions. His reasoning powers are not defective, but they have poor material to work on.

Civilized man has greater plasticity in his judgments. Consider the vast array of facts available as an aid in establishing a rational decision upon all scientific subjects drawn from the various sciences. We know something of the secret of the universe, the true cause and effects of certain lines of action,—the source of certain diseases, for example. And yet, how many among us,—and not always the most ignorant,—fail to take these into consideration in forming judgments. Superstition is found among all classes of our population,—belief in charms and amulets still persists. False reasoning in all lines of action, in spite of premises laid down by science, is not uncommon.

One might imagine that the power of suggestion was greater among primitive people than among the more civilized. We may well doubt this, in view of the phenomenal growth of so-called religions based entirely upon suggestion. The success of Coué and his followers, the growth of New Thought and of Christian Science, are all indications that the welfare of mankind can be benefited by suggestion. The medicine man works along the very same lines.

There is certainly a need for something to counteract the nervous disorders of civilized man. Mental hygiene in its various forms is our answer. This need seems to show that, emotionally, civilized man is not far behind the lowly savage. Psychologically man is one.

The important point for consideration here is not whether these neuroses are caused by environment, or whether they are inherited; but the fact that they are present, and that the emotional side of the life of present-day man is something that has to be considered. Nervous disorders are not uncommon among primitive peoples, and suggestion is the most important method employed to cure these ills both among savage and among civilized people.

Intellect

The very debatable subject of intellect next concerns us. There are several questions here. First, do races differ inherently from one another in their intellectual capacity? In other words, are there biological differences in the nervous systems of the different races? Secondly, do all races have the same potentialities of intellect, some using them to create a civilization, others failing to avail themselves of these, although present? Thirdly, is the average mentality of the three great groups of mankind the same, with a great range of distribution of high and low intelligence in one group and a small distribution in others? The use of the word "race" is often confusing. Some discussions of intellect refer to the three primary groups of mankind, the White, the Mongolian, and the Negro. Other discussions refer to the different divisions of one of these primary groups, —the Nordic race, the Alpine, and the Mediterranean.

Finally, some fail to consider the fact that race and nationality are not by any means synonymous terms.

There may be biological differences in the brain of the Negro, the Mongolian, and the White, but this is quite a different problem from an inherent difference in the subdivisions of a single group: the Nordic separated in this respect from the Mediterranean, for example. It can thus be seen that this problem of intellectual endowment is not a simple one. Before discussing this question of mental equipment, let us consider the criteria for separating the three primary groups of man upon the physical side.

Anthropology has been trying for generations to secure some definite means for a study of the physical side of race. Head-form was considered for a long time as the best criterion. The Negro has a long head, though some members of the Negro race have round heads. The texture of the hair is believed by some to be a successful means of analyzing race. But there is no simple satisfactory criterion for establishing a safe test of the physical side of race, in spite of its obviousness. We know that a typical Negro is black, a typical Mongolian yellow, a typical White, white. But there are all shades of white, from the pale color of the Scandinavian to the darker shades of the Mediterranean peoples. The darkest White peoples are often as dark as some of the Negro tribes. There is even a difficulty in distinguishing race by using all the criteria available, such as structure of hair, color of skin, hair and eyes, head form, and the character of the nose.

If the obviousness of race, physically considered, does not give us definite criteria, how can we expect to find satisfactory evidence for a judgement on the mental side,

where racial inferiority or superiority are not so apparent? There is no scientific method yet acceptable to answer this question one way or the other. It is practically impossible to separate the inherent endowment of man from the benefits or lack of benefits derived from the cultural, the social, and the environmental factors, the acquired traits from the inherited. This difficulty is especially aggravated when we consider man's mentality.

But to return to the main question. How can the mental basis of race be approximately determined? This subject can be approached from several angles. A physical study of the races and their relative nearness to ancestral forms has often been attempted.

If this comparison is based upon the more general physical features, the Negro is found nearest the anthropoid with his receding forehead, broad nose, his prognathism or projection of the upper jaw. The White or Mongolian stand nearest the ape, with the Negro farthest away, when relative hairiness, texture of hair, development of lips, and the length and proportion of limbs are considered. The impossibility of appraising the relative value of these features shows the futility of this line of approach. Great inconsistencies are encountered when using this physical criterion. The fossil forms of the human skull are most like that of the Negro, whereas the skull of the typical Negro is always long and narrow, totally unlike that of the anthropoid ape.[16]

The size and weight of the brain have been employed in the attempt to determine intellect. There seems little doubt that the brain-weight of Whites is greater than that of most other races, and particularly greater than that of the brain of Negroes. There is certainly no individual correlation between size and weight of brain

and intelligence, excepting of course in pathological cases. As a matter of fact, the Eskimo in general seem to have the largest heads among all living peoples. The Cro-Magnon race, and even some of the specimens of Neanderthal man, far exceed in head capacity any modern peoples.

As regards brain weight, there seems to be some slight correlation at the extreme ends of the curve, but this is lacking in the middle groups. The series of human brains is too meagre for any definite conclusions on this point. It is probably not the size and weight of the brain that counts, but its structure, the nerve-cells and fibres. The morphological traits of the brain might give an answer to our problem, but unfortunately these have not been studied from a racial point of view.[17]

Physiological experiments on the different races of man are not numerous. No definite racial peculiarities regarding temperature, pulse-beat, and respiration have been found. The bio-chemical examination of races has yet to be undertaken. The ductless glands are another subject for investigation from a racial standpoint. These studies will doubtless open new vistas regarding the question of race. Kroeber has made a careful study of some of the foregoing points, together with the susceptibility to disease of the different races, and he finds no definite racial correlations.[18]

This discussion is already leading us far from the question of mental endowment, but the facts, as far as present investigations go, relating to physical and physiological superiority and inferiority, are so complicated and embrace so many contradictory features that nothing definite can be drawn from them at the present time.

Let us consider next the history of our civilization and

that of other peoples. Babbitt notes that Renan, as late as the seventies of the last century, said, "The sentiment of nationalities is not a hundred years old in the world." [19] We often fail to realize that the time relations, as applied to civilization, are relatively so extremely slight as compared with the whole history of mankind.

The Egyptians, two thousand years before Christ, would regard their culture in quite the same way as we regard ours, and would question the possibilities of a civilization equalling their among any other people. The Greeks in their time would stand in this same position, looking down upon all other nations and questioning the potentialities of all other peoples. The Latins in Cæsar's time would certainly have denied that the Britons and Germans were inherently equal to themselves. "If these northerners possessed the ability of the Mediterraneans, they would have given vent to it, instead of continuing to live in disorganization, poverty ignorance, rudeness, and without great men or products of the spirit." "What," asks one writer, "had these barbarians ever done to lead one to think that they might yet do great things?" [20] Given a good environment, a start of a few thousand years or even less, and a people may surge ahead often at an amazing rate.

Considering the cultures of the world as they now stand, that of whites has had a longer history than that of any other, starting with the Upper Palæolithic of Central Europe and continuing in an unbroken series up to the present time. The Mongoloid peoples show as a whole the greatest diversity in their range of culture. There are Mongolian peoples in all stages of devel-

opment, from the crudest savages to civilized peoples,—the nearest racial relatives of the Manchu are very crude Siberian tribes. One branch at least of this race, the Chinese, has had a long history of achievement behind it, and the Japanese have certainly attained a high degree of civilization. Giles, in his *Civilization of China,* writes, "If we go back to the fifteenth century, we shall find that the standard of civilization, as the term is usually understood, was still much higher in China than in Europe; while Marco Polo, the famous Venetian traveller of the thirteenth century, who actually lived twenty-four years in China, and served as an official under Kublai Khan, has left it on record that the magnificence of Chinese cities and the splendor of the Chinese court, outrivaled anything he had ever seen or heard of." [21]

The diversity of the Mongoloid peoples as regards culture is seen in that branch found in America, the American Indian. The difference in accomplishment between many of the Brazilian tribes and the Mayas and Aztecs, both belonging to the same race, are certainly as great as that between many of the Negro tribes in Africa and certain white peoples a few centuries ago.

Considering, therefore, the White and Mongolian branches of mankind, we find the greatest range of cultures among them at different times in their histories and also different grades of culture existing simultaneously in the same division. One can say, therefore, that there can be little direct "proportional relation" between race and culture. A race does not change its inherent mental make-up every time a culture advances or retreats.

Finally the Negro and his culture: The strongest argument in favor of inherent differences in the three primary groups along intellectual and cultural lines is found right here. The Negro as a race has not built up great civilizations in any way comparable to those created by the other two great branches of mankind. The Negro failed almost completely to avail himself of the influences of Egypt and the Mediterranean area in general. In respect to certain technological processes the Negro excels. The smelting of iron, for example, was carried out in all probability in Negro Africa before it appeared in Europe. The cultures of Benin and Mashonaland stand out above the general level. Trial by jury was an invention of the Negro. The relation between opportunity and achievement in this connection can explain away only a part of this absence from Negro Africa and Melanesia of cultures worthy of a place among the great civilizations of the world.

There is a great deal written regarding race psychology. As far as I know there has never been any special attempt made to divide the races on the physical side and study each division along purely psychological lines. There is no such thing as racial psychology in the strict scientific sense. Practically the only thing that has been done is an attempt to study various racial factors in our civilization by means of the so-called intelligence tests. This is the age of intelligence-testing. The layman does not hesitate to apply it at all times and in all places: parents try it on their children, usually with results gratifying to their pride. If applied in the experienced hands of a psychologist it does seem to be an aid in separating the superior and inferior individuals.

It is still a debatable question how far the result can be interpreted as indicative of innate ability, and how far the result reflects the social background of the individual tested. The cultural environment, education in the broadest sense of the term, is certainly a factor in the outcome.

The published results of the mental examinations used in the United States Army at the time of the World War have proved "source material" for observations by many varieties of scientific and unscientific investigators.

For the problem here, the results of these tests upon men of various races and of various nationalities are worthy of notice, although, as already pointed out, there is no means of knowing from the tests themselves what factors in the results are due to inherent endowment and what to environment. Variation in the ability to use the English language must certainly have played some part in the results.

The examinations were rated with letters from A to E. The Alpha test was for literates, the Beta test for illiterates. Kroeber has made an analysis of the results of the examinations, and his figures are presented here, together with certain factors which he has "analyzed out." [22] He gives comprehensively the results in percentages of individuals in each group,—those below the middle grade of C, those with C, and those above C.

Group and number of individuals	Below C	C	Above C
Englishmen, 411	9	71	20
White draft generally, 93,973	24	64	12
Italians, 4007	63	36	1
Poles, 382	70	20	.5
Negroes generally, 18,891	79	20	1

As Kroeber comments, "These figures at face value seem to show deep group differences in intelligence." The Englishman ranks higher than the drafted white man as a whole, but this is to be "complacently explained by saying that the English represent in comparative purity the Anglo-Saxon or Nordic stock which is also the dominant strain among Americans, but which has been somewhat contaminated in their case by the immigration of Latins and Slavs, who rate much lower, as shown by the Italians and Poles tested." Lowest of all is the Negro. "But there is one feature that raises suspicion. The Italians and the Poles are too close to the Negroes. They stand much nearer to them in intelligence, according to these figures, than they do to the white Americans. Can this . . . . have racial significance? Are these Mediterraneans, descendants of the Romans, and these Alpines . . . . only a grade superior to the Negro? 'Something must be wrong' with the figures: that is, they contain another factor besides race." Length of residence in the country, the ability to use English, and the social background, are all factors to be taken into consideration. It should also be noted that the foreigners from Southern Europe are a selected group which is most probably inferior both innately and culturally. They are "samples" of the lower orders whereas North European immigration more fairly represents the home population as a whole.

The difference in grades between the northern and southern Negro is shown next.

Group and number of individuals	Below C	C	Above C
Negroes, 5 northern states, 4705	46	51	3
Negroes, 4 southern states, 6846	86	14	.3

The northern Negro, with surroundings far more like those of the whites among whom he lives, far surpasses the southern Negro. He gets ten times as high a proportion of individuals into the above-C grades, and only about half as many in the below-C grades. This, I think, may be partially accounted for by the improved social surroundings and educational facilities, larger opportunities and a partial loss of the color-line. East and others explain this better showing of the northern Negro as due to the fact that those who came north were the more ambitious and those with relatively higher intelligence. It should also be noted that the northern Negroes are more largely mulattoes than the southern Negroes. Does the admixture of white blood give a greater intelligence in and of itself? There is, at present, no proof of this. Social environment must certainly explain some of the difference between the northern and southern Negroes.

The results of the Beta test are next to be considered. This was given to men who could not write an intelligible letter or read a newspaper, or who had had only half, or less, of the ordinary grammar-school education, together with aliens whose knowledge of English was imperfect.

ALPHA TEST: LITERATES

Group and number of individuals	Below C	C	Above C
Englishmen, 374	5	74	21
White draft generally, 72,618	16	69	15
Alabama whites, 697	19	72	9
New York negroes, 1,021	21	72	7
Italians, 575	33	64	3
Negroes generally, 5,681	54	44	2
Alabama negroes, 262	56	44	(.4)

BETA TEST: ILLITERATES

White draft generally, 26,012	58	41	1
Italians, 2,888	64	35	1
New York negroes, 440	72	28	0
Poles, 263	76	24	(.4)
Alabama whites, 384	80	20	0
Negroes generally, 11,633	91	9	(.2)
Alabama negroes, 1,043	97	3	(.1)

In the Alpha tests the New York negro has nearly the same percentage as the Alabama white. In the Beta tests he is slightly above the Alabama white. This may "mean that bringing up in a certain part of the country has as much to do with intelligence, even in the rough, as has Caucasian or colored parentage."

The literate negroes, irrespective of section, slightly surpasses the illiterate whites. It should be noted that within the same section the white recruits always surpass the colored. Alabama whites may make a poor showing, but they are above the general negro percentage. Illiterate whites in general surpass illiterate negroes. Is this difference due to race? "As long as the color-line remains drawn, a differential factor of cultural advantage is included; and how strong this is there is no present means of knowing. It is possible that some of the difference between sectionally and educationally equalized groups of whites and negroes is really innate and racial. But it is also possible that most or all of it is environmental. Neither possibility can be demonstrated from the unrefined data at present available."

In a study made by Pyle on the relative intelligence of negro and white school-children, it was found that the mental ability of the negro children was two-thirds

that of the white boys and girls.[23] Negro girls approached the white girls in ability slightly more closely than negro boys approached white boys. There was a tendency for the difference between the two races to decrease with increasing age. One-fifth of the negroes were equal or superior to the average whites. Three-quarters of the whites were equal or superior to the negroes. When the colored children were divided into two groups, arranged on a basis of social surroundings, Negro boys of the better social class possessed about four-fifths of the intelligence of white boys,—an increase from two-thirds when all the negroes were considered. This increase is explained by some as due to the fact that the mentally more alert have provided themselves with a better social environment. This is no doubt a factor that should be taken into consideration. But it is as impossible of proof as the explanation that the social surroundings in and of themselves may explain this tendency of negroes socially selected to approach the norm of white children.

The results of the different tests were interesting. In such experiments as substitution and controlled association the negroes were less than half as good as the whites. In free association and some other tests they were nearly as good. In quickness of perception and discrimination and in reaction, the negroes were equal to or superior to white children.

The same investigator conducted another series of experiments upon the mental deviation of rural and urban school-children.[24] He found that the country-bred children possessed about three-fourths the mentality of the city-bred. This is only one-twelfth of a point higher than his results in comparing the negro with

the white. Better teachers and better social environment are to a great extent accountable for this difference between the country and the city child. It is certainly not to be explained by race. He found less difference between Chinese children and whites than between urban and rural American white children.

The question of human hybrids ought to furnish a prolific field for the investigation of intellect. Some work on this subject has been carried out in Hawaii, but the results, as far as I know, have not been published. The investigation by Hunter on the relation of the amount of Indian blood in Indian-white mixtures to intelligence is available for study and is presented here.[25]

RESULTS OF HUNTER AND ROWE TESTS ON INDIANS AND INDIAN-WHITE MIXTURES

Race	Below age group	At age group	Above age group
Full blood	93.2	2.2	4.6
¾ Indian	90.9	0.7	8.4
½ Indian	81.6	1.0	17.4
¼ Indian	74.3	0.0	25.7
Total average	85.0	.97	14.02

He found a positive correlation with an increasing degree of white blood, which he thinks indicates "a racial difference, probably of intelligence, although possibly of temperament." He suspects that the Indian full-blood has better social surroundings than those with white mixture. I feel convinced, in my own mind, that the reverse is true: namely, that the half-whites are better off physically, socially, and educationally, than the full-bloods, and that an increase in intelligence among mixed

bloods is to be correlated, in part at least, with a better social environment.

The influence of a white parent must necessarily make itself felt. It would have a far greater and better social value in the case of an Indian-white mixture than in that of a Negro-white mixture, as in the former case of miscegenation there is far less social stigma attached than in that of a Negro and a White.

Garth made some tests on Indian-white mixtures without differentiating the amount of blood of each race represented.[26] His figures show the same trend as those of Hunter. He plainly admits that social status and education are factors to be considered in the differences between his figures and the norm for white children which he uses.

One might well ask at this stage: Why not go into Australia, for example, and examine the aboriginal population there by means of intelligence tests? This has not been done because, as far as I know, no tests have yet been devised suitable for a primitive people. The familiar tests used on European and American populations with a more or less definite cultural environment could not fairly be employed on a people who have an entirely different social background. These tests will undoubtedly come in time, but there will always be the difficulty of a standard equation between tests for civilized man and tests for primitive peoples. Even the Beta tests for illiterates presuppose an acquaintance with a backgroud of culture which is American, not Australian nor South American. Test 6 of the Beta group is to supply the missing parts of objects given in pictures. Two people are playing tennis with no net; two are bowling with no balls; there is an electric-light bulb

with no filament. It is readily admitted that this test would not be a fair one for aboriginal peoples and it may safely be presumed that some of the illiterates of the Army Draft had never seen a game of tennis nor a bowling match, and even, perhaps, never an electric-light bulb.

Consider the white peoples as a whole. Here we have one primary group, commonly divided into three races. We hear much about the supremacy of those of Nordic blood, as I have already noted. Several attempts have been made to prove this. Brigham, in his *Study of American Intelligence,* tries to get figures for this, but the results have been very rightly and very seriously questioned. There are absolutely no data at present available to prove that the Nordics are equipped biologically with a greater capacity than that possessed by the other two white races. And yet what a part the Nordic hypothesis has played in current discussions as a weapon held over the actions of individuals and of states! *

* Barnes after considering the influence of the World War in causing a "resurgence of racial nonsense" writes very truly, "Another source of deception has been the reappearance of a neo-Gobinesque literature. In the pre-war literature there was one notorious book of this sort, Chamberlain's *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century.* To this was added in 1917 the most mischievous book since Gobineau, Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race,* which advanced the thesis that all western civilization had been due mainly to the contributions of the Nordic blonds. This preposterous doctrine has been exploited with variations by William McDougall, Lothrop Stoddard, C. C. Josey, C. S. Burr, and C. W. Gould, until now it has reached such a grotesque state that attempts are being made to interpret the American Civil War on the Nordic blond hypothesis. Fortunately, most reputable historians have remained immune from

If it were possible to arrange the members of a race, those belonging to the genius class on the one hand, those with average minds in the middle group, and those with feeble intellects below, the range might well be greater among some races than among others. The White race may have a greater number of men of genius per 100,000 of the population than the Negro race possesses. It certainly seems as if this were true. Fischer suggests that whites differ from negroes in this respect, while not exceeding them in average intelligence.[28] But it must be remembered that genius may pass unrecognized, owing to lack of opportunity to make itself felt among savages. He "does not get into the record." Primitive society must have had a fair amount of genius among its members, to account for certain well-organized efforts that show high mental traits.

The Maya calendar functioned without the loss of a day for 2000 years, until it was broken up by Spanish priests. Marginal corrections were applied to take care of the variation in the year and the true solar year—a means more accurate than our method of leap year. It was not until 1582 that the Julian day was invented, which corresponds to the Maya day count,—2000 years after the same principle had been adopted by the Mayas.[29]

It has been shown by the mental tests upon Indian and Negro children that a small percentage of the latter were superior to the average white. Garth states that many full-blood Indians attain and even excel the perform-

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the Nordic hysterics, but it has debauched the opinions of not a few publicists and lecturers and has gained immense popularity. It will require a generation of persistent effort on the part of scholars to eradicate this distressing source of error."[27]

ance of mixed-bloods. Where the number of the individuals studied is small, excessive values,—extremes in the measurement,—are likely to be due to the unrepresentative character of the sample. Hayes has postulated a curve to show that the average intelligence of one race may be about the same as that of another, but that there would be a larger number of high intellects in one case and a greater number of low intellects in the other.[30] This suggestion is as impossible of proof in the present state of our knowledge as that of any other relating to innate mental equipment.

Before trying to sum up this question of the relative mentality of the different groups of mankind, let us consider for a moment those socially handicapped among white populations. What about achievements among the "poor whites" of the south, the miner, the peasant? Everyone will admit that the majority of mankind of whatever race and of whatever station in life do not use their minds for thinking out their own problems, much less those affecting society at large. They are creatures of habit, and accept in general what they are told, whether or not they believe it. There is little reflection and little individual thinking.[31]

Is this lack of achievement due to an inherent mental deficiency or to a suppression of all stimuli from social surroundings? Send the "poor white" or the peasant to school,—in an enlightened community,—and some of his deficiencies, at least, tend to disappear.

Race prejudice bulks very large in any decision upon this subject. As has been suggested, take the attitude of the average Californian or Australian on the Mongolian, of the Texan on the Mexican, the Southerner on the Negro, the Westerner on the local tribes of Indians, and

the Englishman on the Hindu. In the case of the Mongolian in California and the Negro in the South, we find in both cases social maladjustment of an alien people. In the case of the Indian and the Hindu, we find the alien people to be those on top, trying to impose a new and higher social system upon a native population. Not one of these cases presents a normal ground for judgment of innate intelligence.

In summing up this question of the mentality of different races, it should be borne in mind that it is not possible to prove the question one way or the other if scientific data are demanded on which to base a decision. *A priori* one can say that there seems to be some reason to think that the Negro race as a whole fails to measure up to the intellectual standard of the other two great groups of mankind, the White and the Mongolian. If however, we free our minds as much as possible from prejudice, and take into consideration the emotional factor present in our decision, we should hesitate to deny that many of the deficiencies of the Negro are due not to an intellectual capacity, but to a social and, to a lesser extent, physical environment which are decidedly unfavorable.[18]

Vernon Kellogg writes, in *Mind and Heredity*, that the work of Woodworth (1912), done twelve years ago, "pointed out that what studies of racial differences in mental traits had been made up to that time, failed to reveal any pronounced or even any very readily definable differences of this character among the races studied." Kellogg adds, "More recent studies seem to confirm this conclusion." [32]

It should be clearly realized that the residual qualities remaining in culture after taking out the effects of envi-

ronment are the result of intellect. The range of individual endowment is then the next factor of importance. That this is great is proved on all sides. After environment and individual ability are factored out, the remainder is racial.

There is a final question relating to mentality, that of the processes of thought. Does the savage use different methods of logic in his mental processes? Most anthropologists assume a certain similarity in the modes of thought, shared alike by the savage and by civilized man, a psychical unity for all mankind.

Lévy-Bruhl and others of the French School deny the validity of this.[33] They argue that as mentality is a collective product and the result of social environment, so this social mind changes as social environment changes; and therefore, naturally, the mental processes of primitive man are distinctly different from our own.

Any object used in a religious ceremony, according to this theory, takes on a kind of aura, becoming "saturated" with magical associations that cannot be separated from the object itself. The natural world thus presents itself to the mind of primitive man as something quite different from the picture we should obtain from viewing the same phenomena. The author uses the word "mystical" to designate this trait of primitive mind. The "law of participation" is, he thinks, a fundamental principle of primitive mentality. Objects participate mystically in one another. A man may be in one place and at the same time in another, an animal may be here before you and at the same time appear in a dream; a man is not only similar but identical with his name or with his image.

This mystical participation unites men and animals,

objects and actions, into "closely related groups that have nothing to do with objective form and substance, and are based solely on ceremonial, magical, and other supernatural connections." The peculiarity of the collective ideas is that they are "pre-logical or a-logical, meaning by this not that they necessarily contradict logic, but that logical processes are frequently and even typically disregarded in their formation."

Two questions immediately present themselves. Are the mental processes of primitive man always illogical, and are the mental processes of civilized man always logical? We can easily answer, No, to both questions. Primitive man, granted his premises, usually has a reason, and, from his point of view, a logical reason, for all his acts. It is also certainly true that many of the acts of civilized man are based upon anything but careful logical premises. The continuity of human achievement presents no hiatus where man passes from the pre-logical to the logical system of reason. Both are present among all peoples in all grades of culture. This takes away the foundation stone of the Lévy-Bruhl theory which makes a sharp distinction between primitive and civilized society.

There may well be a confusion of the man and his image, the man and his name. Religion overlaps all the other fields of savage thought and of action. It plays a part in the planting of corn. Religion and the fine arts, religion and natural science, religion and law, are all related. Some have laid stress upon this confusion of categories, but it is not a confusion from the point of view of primitive man. There is simply a difference in our classification of subjects from that of the savage. Somewhat the same confusion was present in our cul-

ture only a short time ago. Astronomy and human life gave us astrology; botany and magic gave us medicine.

Dewey has summarized the emotional and intellectual characteristics of primitive man as given by Spencer. "He is explosive and chaotic in feeling, improvident, childishly mirthful, intolerant of restraint . . . . attentive to meaningless detail and incapable of selecting the facts from which conclusions may be drawn, with feeble grasp of thought, incapable of rational surprise, incurious, lacking in ingenuity and constructive imagination." The savage, as the field anthropologist knows him, after an intimate study, corresponds only in a few respects to Spencer's description. Dewey, in a well-known passage, says, "Immediacy of interest, attention, and deed is the essential trait of the nomad hunter. He has no cultivated plants, no system of appliances for tending and regulating plants and animals; he does not even anticipate the future by drying meat. When food is abundant he gorges himself, but does not save . . . Now such facts as these are usually given a purely negative interpretation. They are used as proofs of the incapacities of the savage. But in fact they are parts of a very positive psychosis, which taken in itself and not merely measured against something else, requires and exhibits highly specialized skill, and affords intense satisfactions—psychical and social satisfactions, not merely sensuous indulgences. The savage's repugnance to what we term a higher plane of life is not due to stupidity or dullness or apathy—or to any other merely negative qualities . . . His aversion is due to the fact that in the new occupations he does not have so clear or so intense a sphere for the display of intellectual and

practical skill, or such opportunity for a dramatic play of emotion. . . .

"No one has ever called a purely hunting race dull, apathetic or stupid. Much has been written regarding the aversion of savages to higher resources of civilization—their refusal to adopt iron tools or weapons, for example, and their sodden absorption in routine habits . . . Their attention is mobile and fluid as is their life; they are eager to the point of greed for anything which will fit into their dramatic situations so as to intensify skill and increase emotion . . . It is when the native is forced into an alien use of the new resources, instead of adapting them to his own ends, that his workmanship, skill, and artistic taste uniformly degenerate.

"Competent testimony is unanimous as to the quickness and accuracy of apprehension evinced by the natives in coming in contact even for the first time with complicated constructive devices of civilized man, provided only these appliances have a direct or immediate action-index." [34]

In spite of some exceptions, early society is conservative. Reflection is far rarer than imitation. Tradition of the elders has been called "the instinct of society." If everyone is imitating everyone else the result is no movement in either direction. That there is movement and hence change,—however slowly accomplished in some societies,—is proved on all sides. The fact that we find peoples speaking the same languages and with a similar early history, occupying different scales of culture, doing different things in different ways, proves that originality must have been present to inaugurate these changes. The tendency to change may be small or great. The incentive depends upon many factors:—a

crisis of war bringing about the selections of a leader; the crisis of a deplenished food supply, leading to migration or to the development of new methods of raising food; new ideas brought in from another people by conquest or by subjection.

The greatest variation in the attitude towards cultural novelties is seen in the modern world. One modern writer, assimilating conservatism to a disease, has given it a name,—"neophobia," a form of disease that has been recognized for years. He cites a letter by Creevey against a bill introduced into the British Parliament in 1825 against the construction of the first railway, and Napier in the House of Commons against the introduction of steam power into the English navy. Walter Scott called coal gas for lighting a pestilential innovation, Byron satirized it in verse. The introduction of bath tubs in the United States in 1840 was considered by doctors as dangerous to health; and, as late as 1845, there was a municipal ordinance in Boston that such tubs were unlawful except on medical advice.[35] And we all remember an aged relative who vowed she would never ride in "one of those automobiles." Conservatism today is considered old-fashioned. And yet the world needs conservatism as a balance for new ideas.

In the first chapter I tried to show that culture is not mainly made up of congenital factors. I have carried this thesis a step further and endeavored to point out that society is thus not a biological organism. Man's intellectual equipment, made possible by a large brain, coupled with his possession of articulate speech, places human society in an entirely different category from that found among non-human animals. Individual dif-

ferences, race, and environment should be considered as factors in the diversities of cultures. All play a part, but not one occupies the entire rôle in the drama of peoples.

Many of the more common ideas regarding the nature of the savage are not founded upon facts. He is not a creature of unbridled passions, but is held in check by numerous tabus. The acuity of his senses, his power of concentration, and his emotional qualities do not differ greatly from corresponding qualities in civilized man. As regards intellect, we cannot at present prove that he has an inferior endowment in mental equipment. Such a postulated theory may be advanced, but it cannot be derived from any scientific data at present available. It should also be pointed out that superiority does not consist of intellect alone but that other unmeasurable qualities which are relative to emotional and volitional make-up may contribute to the preëminence of a people.

According to the common view, "Man is many, and civilization one." The reverse is one of the theses of this book: "Man is one, civilizations are many."

CHAPTER III

THE CRISES IN THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

THERE are almost as many different types of persons in a primitive community as in a modern one; and, furthermore, there are various kinds of societies which can be classed as rude, ranging all the way from that of the lowly Australian and the Bushman to the more complicated life of the Polynesian.

The mistake is often made of envisaging a typical savage, or, as some have called him, a "natural man," and a standard society to which he belongs. There is neither the one nor the other. For this reason it is perhaps a mistake even to attempt a discussion of the life of such a hypothetical individual; as there is, in reality, no such creature. But out of the mass of facts concerning the daily routine of a savage, certain practices stand out as common among many peoples,—a social and religious etiquette observed in the various crises of life.

Mention has already been made of the suggestibility of primitive man. This is especially noticeable in regard to the unseen forces of his environment. He is always alert in the face of the imagined dangers of evil powers who wait in a sort of ethereal ambush to work harm. Practically all the observances that will be noted are based on the attempt to placate these unseen powers with the request that good spirits come in their stead.

The modern conception of the savage is that of a lazy creature lying about under a tree, or, where there are no trees, in the shade of his hut; his wife, the beast of burden and the work horse for the family. It is needless to say that this picture does not accord with the facts. Primitive man in his own environment is a very much occupied person. As far as observations go, almost every moment of his time is taken up with the pursuit of his livelihood and with endeavors to provide diversion for these hostile influences. There is no rest from his vigil regarding the unseen powers. An astonishing amount of time is consumed in his religious practices. A successful hunt or a plentiful harvest must needs be followed by an offering of first game or first fruits to the gods.

Savage life is seldom as unvaried as commonly supposed. Seasonal occupations relating to game or to planting and the harvest, the preparation for the elaborate rites and their celebration, the various festivals, sometimes in an almost unbroken series,—all serve to vary a life which otherwise might be monotonous. There are far wider and richer interests in the life of primitive man than in that of many of the modern workers in an industrial community. The "immediacy of interest" is always present. "The play of the emotions along the scale of want, effort, success, or failure," writes Dewey, in speaking of a hunting race, "is the very type, psychically speaking, of the drama. The breathless interest with which we hang upon the movement of play or novel are reflexes of the mental attitudes evolved in the hunting vocation." [1]

I do not follow Dewey when he adds that in the agricultural stage of society, when the emotions of the

hunt are gone, the drudgery of field labor is handed over to the women and the men take up war to supply the excitements formerly furnished by the hunt. It seems to me that altogether too much attention is paid to warfare as an habitual occupation of primitive peoples.

The observances occurring in the history of an individual which are to be discussed here, center around the crises of life,—birth, adolescence, marriage, and death. Rites are undertaken at each of these times,—"rites of passage," as Van Gennep calls them, conducting the individual from one state or situation to another. If each society is considered a sort of house divided into chambers, in civilized life passage from room to room is easy; whereas in primitive society the compartments are isolated from each other and movement from one to another is difficult. Rites are necessary in passing from one room to the next. Even among more developed peoples the ceremonies of baptism, confirmation, marriage, and death, are, in many respects, "rites of passage."

Reflection and discussion regarding these inevitable crises lead to some idea of supposed cause and effect, and various "controls" are undertaken which play a part in the development of magic, that which corresponds to science, and the general idea of souls and spirits. The medicine man, the sorcerer, the physician, the priest, the judge, the teacher, and the artist, often owe a large part of their development to these crises.[2]

The "rites of passage" abundantly illustrate the two fields of magic: contagious and symbolic, both founded upon the misapplication of the laws of cause and effect;

the first based upon the idea of contagion, and the second upon the belief that like produces like.

Birth

It seems safe to say that among a few peoples procreation is not understood to be the result of sexual intercourse. Attis was the Adonis of Western Asia, a god of vegetation. His mother, Nana, was a virgin, who conceived by putting a ripe almond or a pomegranate in her bosom. Such tales of virgin mothers are common. In Phrygian cosmogony, an almond figured as the father of all things. In Palestine, to this day, it is believed that a woman may conceive by the spirit of her dead husband. In the Finnish epic, the Kalevala, conception is brought about by eating a cranberry.

Among some of the tribes in central and northern Australia, conception is believed to be the result of the entrance into the body of the woman of an animal spirit. The child is thus the reincarnated spirit of this animal. The spirit may be induced to enter the body of the female of its species, and thus animal birth is accounted for in the same way as human nativity. Among the Kiriwina of British New Guinea the origin of conception is traced back to the soul of a dead person entering the body of a woman as a spirit child.

Pregnancy is a time of great concern, far more for the welfare of the community and of the future child than for the health and comfort of the woman. A special place of residence is often demanded for the expectant mother. She is abnormal socially quite as much as physically, and various prophylactic measures must be taken to prevent her from working harm. Isolation is

only one of the precautions taken. Tabus are usually necessary at this time.

The old-fashioned idea of pre-natal influence is seen in some of the prohibitions. Among the northwest Amazons a pregnant woman must not eat the meat of the capibara, a rodent, else the child will have teeth like the rodent. Paca is tabu, or the child will be spotted like this animal.

There is a rather widespread belief that knots and closed objects are objectionable at the time of child-bearing. Among the Saxons of Transylvania, there must be no knots on the garments of a woman in labor, because they would interfere with delivery. All the locks in the house, on boxes or on doors, are unlocked for the same reason. Roman religion required that the women who took the part of the goddess of childbirth should have no knot tied on their persons.

Tabus must, in some cases, be observed by the husband as well as by the wife. He may not be allowed to cover his eyes during his wife's pregnancy, and Pliny tells us that to sit with clasped hands beside a woman in this condition was enough to cast a malignant spell on her. On the principle of symbolic magic, this would thwart the free course of events. Among the Yukaghir, a Siberian tribe, the fat of the cow or of the reindeer or larch gum are forbidden at this time, but horse's fat may be eaten. The woman must raise her feet high in walking, and must push stones away from her path, symbolizing the removal of obstructions at childbirth. She must never turn back on setting out for a certain place.

The woman is usually considered unclean during this period, and a quarantine may exist both before and after

the birth of a child. She cannot usually be reinstated in her home and social group until she has passed through some purification ceremony. This is entirely comparable with the "churching of women" in the Christian Church. This is a liturgical form of thanksgiving after childbirth, borrowed from the Jewish Church, and originating in the Mosaic regulation as to purification as given in Leviticus, XII.

"And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, If a woman have conceived seed, and borne a man child, then she shall be unclean seven days; according to the days of the separation for her infirmity shall she be unclean . . . And she shall then continue in the blood of her purifying three and thirty days; she shall touch no hallowed thing, nor come into the sanctuary, until the days of her purifying be fulfilled." This contagion of uncleanliness, a pollution, is, of course, exactly similar to the contagious character of holiness met with in many parts of the religious ritual.

Birth itself is mysterious. Much has been made of the ease with which children are brought into the world by primitive people. Owing to the large number of skeletons of newly-born babies found in archæological excavations, and the bodies of gravid mothers with the fœtus, we realize that infant mortality was probably greater than is commonly supposed. In general, however, it may be said that the danger at childbirth is mainly a spiritual one.

The period of quarantine observed by the woman is often extended to include the newly-born infant. There is a double cause for the precautions taken; to prevent the contamination of society by the child, and to prevent harm from coming to him. The evil spirits are especially

prone to work at this time. Not only are charms hung about the infant, but the umbilical cord must be disposed of in some special way, and a ceremonial bath or baptism is often resorted to as a kind of purification. The birth of twins is considered with great disfavor. Frequently one of them is killed. Sometimes both suffer death.

The curious custom of the *couvade,* the lying-in of the father, is found among many peoples widely separated in time, as well as in culture; as the Basques of the Pyrenees, who practiced it until one or two centuries ago, the Caribs of Guiana, and some of the Indians of Brazil. Strabo relates that the Iberian women, after the examples of the Celts, Thracians, and Scythians, quit their beds as soon as they were delivered, and gave them up to their husbands, whom then tended. This distribution of this custom illustrates, perhaps better than that of any other, similar results arrived at independently by two or more peoples. The *couvade* consists of the father taking to his bed or his hammock on the birth of a child. He is carefully tended, and surrounded by certain rigorous and definite tabus. This custom was explained by Tylor in his evolutionary theory of society as appearing at a definite stage of progress when man is passing from reckoning descent through the mother to that where father-descent is achieved. It was an attempt to push the woman into the background, and to emphasize the father's importance in the family. It has already been seen that this theory of monotypical evolution is fundamentally wrong, and its application to the *couvade* cannot be accepted.

Many peoples believe, as do the Ainu, that as the mother gives the child his body, so the father gives him

his soul. The close spiritual connection between the father and the child makes it necessary for the father to protect him. He does this in some cases by lying-in and refraining from certain actions which might, through magic, injure the child. It may also be suggested that the *couvade* is, in some cases, due to a desire to attract attention away from the mother, so that the evil spirits may leave her alone and try their harmful influence on the father, who is better fortified to withstand this evil.

In a few instances, there seems to be the necessity of a formal introduction of the child to the world at large before he can rightly be considered a member of society. This would mark the passage of the infant from the world from which he came to his present surroundings. An Omaha Indian infant was not considered a member of human society until his advent had been ceremonially announced, so that he might assume his accepted place in the community. The rite took place on the eighth day after birth, and served as a supplication to the spirits of the heavens, the air, and the earth, for the safety of the child. In it the infant is pictured as about to travel a rugged road stretching over four hills, marking the progress through the stages of infancy, youth, manhood, and old age. The child wears a pair of moccasins with a small hole cut in the sole. This is done in order that "if a messenger from the spirit world should come and say to him, 'I have come for you,' he could answer, 'I cannot go on a journey,—my moccasins are worn out.'"[3] It is an indirect prayer that the infant may have a long life.

Primitive man is constantly praying to the gods, and he often expects a definite answer. Prayer is the word to the gods; revelation shown by means of divination

is the answer from the gods. Some savages refrain from carrying out the simplest acts of their daily routine without obtaining some indication whether their course is correct and pleasing to the gods. Festivals, journeys, planting and harvesting, are often undertaken only after a favorable response has been obtained.

At birth divination is often employed. It is all-important to make certain that a favorable life is in store for the child. If not, means are taken to cancel the bad future by anticipating its evils or by placation of some kind. This idea runs through folklore and mythology. After the birth of Meleager, the Fates appeared and foretold that the life of the child should last no longer than a certain brand then burning upon the hearth, Althæa, the boy's mother, seized and quenched the brand and carefully preserved it while Meleager grew to boyhood, youth, and man's estate.

The "fating of the babe" is, of course, an act of divination. Among some of the modern Greeks, the Fates are invited to be present after the birth of a child at a feast. At Kassus on the Ægean, these spirits are presumed to appear seven days after birth. The nurse, after suspending and incensing the infant, utters an appeal to the *Mœræ,* asking them to arrive and bestow a happy destiny. The child is then dressed in the best garments of the father and mother. A table is set, on which are placed three rolls of bread, and in the center a basin of honey with three newly made candles on the rim. These are lighted; one is named after Christ, a second after the Virgin, and the third after John the Baptist. The creed is recited and the Saint whose candle is first consumed is hailed as the patron of the new-comer. The *Mœræ* are then supposed to ap-

pear, "to fate" the child and to accept something from the table. This rite was found throughout the Roman world, and continued into the Middle Ages. Modern fairy tales abound in allusions to this ceremony. Fairies are invited to the christening of a heroine, on whom they bestow their several gifts. The title of god-mother bestowed on the fairies of nursery tales exhibits the combination of pagan and Christian ceremonies.[4]

Among a few peoples, some of the Australian tribes, for example, there is a sex totem, or "patron," to which each child is entitled. Each of the sexes has its special animal whose name each individual of the sex bears, regarding the animal as his or her brother or sister respectively. Among the Kurnai, all the men are called "emu-wrens" and all the women "superb warblers." If the men kill an emu-wren they are attacked by the and if the women kill a warbler they are punished by the men. These totems are quite distinct from the clan totems and from the guardian spirit of the individual.

The Name

The relation between an individual and his name is a very intimate one. The name is, to all intents and purposes, *the* individual, just as much as an arm or a leg. The sacredness of the name and its selection are important factors. The Eskimo say that a man consists of three parts,—his body, his soul, and his name. Just as a person may be injured by an incantation over something which has been in contact with his body, so he may be harmed by having his name used in connection with an oath. The oath and its efficacy in working evil have had an interesting history, which cannot be gone into here. The fear in the heart of the

savage that his name may be used wrongfully is so strong that there is a common custom of keeping the real name secret and having a second one by which he is known in the community. This is fictitious, so that even if used it cannot work harm. This power of the name is seen under several aspects. The Dyaks of Borneo will change their names after an illness, so that the evil spirit, if he should return, would not recognize them. There is an avoidance in speaking specifically of the dead. The name of the god of the Jews and the Semitic Arabs could not be mentioned; Allah, the Mighty One, being used by the latter. The Jewish law, "Take not the name of the Lord in vain," became one of the Ten Commandments. Among some of the Polynesians not only was the name of the king prohibited, but any syllables composing it were tabu wherever found. This meant, on the accession of a new ruler, that many words had to be dropped from the vocabulary and new ones substituted.[5]

There is no set time among all peoples for obtaining the name. It may be given at birth and be taken from a day of the year, as often in the Latin countries, where the name of the saint of the day of birth is taken. It may be a name taken from a sort of copyrighted list belonging to a division of the tribe to which a person belongs, or it may designate the order of his birth in relation to his brothers and sisters. Certain names are auspicious, others are unlucky. It may well be that those denoting unfavorable things are most desired, as there is then no danger that the gods will be attracted to people bearing names of unlikely objects.

The selection of a name by chance is a custom found among many peoples. St. John Chrysostom, one of the

leaders of the Greek Church in the fourth century, in his commentary on the First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians comments on the practice in his day of naming several candles and of bestowing on the infant the appellation belonging to that which lasted longest.

Among the northern Athabascans the father loses his name on the birth of the first son, who takes the name of his father. Among the Zuni of the Southwest, a very young child in the family is often called by some American name,—his true name being secret; so that we have not only Billy, but Billy's father, Billy's grandfather. There is no personality in the name Billy, so that it is perfectly safe for every member of the family to use it. As a special exhibition of friendship, two men will exchange their names. There is sometimes an idea of property in names, as they can be loaned, sold, and even pawned, among a few people.

Finally, in the discussion of the infant, only one other point needs to be mentioned. Many primitive tribes show head deformation,—a flattening of the frontal bone or of some other part of the cranium. This may be an accidental process, resulting from the infant being strapped into a cradle; or it may be intentional, and undertaken as a result of a desire to conform to a tribal type of beauty. Curiously enough, neither of these methods of deformation seems to have any effect upon the development of the brain. When it cannot grow in one direction, it grows in another.

Here may be interpolated a very striking parallel between a much-criticised custom among present-day mothers and the practice found among the Germans of the first century of the Christian Era. Tacitus, in speaking of the German tribes, writes, "There then they are,

the children, in every house, filling out amid nakedness and squalor into the girth of limb and frame which is to our people a marvel. Its own mother suckles each at her breast; they are not passed on to nurse-maids and wet-nurses."

Education

The early training of youth in primitive communities is often far more effective than is commonly supposed. It is a sort of apprentice system, and imitation is the basis of instruction. Agriculture, hunting, pottery-making, weaving, are all taught by means of play. The Pueblo children learn the appearance of the gods by playing with dolls representing the different deities. Implicit obedience is demanded, and there seems to be an ever-present respect for the elders.

On the side of influencing behavior, there is often a distinct part played by stories and fables. Parsons has called attention to the fact that the supernatural sanction plays a nursery rôle as in civilization. Santa Claus writes down the names of the good and bad children in his book, the "bogey man" carries off naughty children: all these things, famous in our childhood, but abolished in the new teachings of youth, have their parallels among savages. Samoans have a juvenile scarecrow called "Sina, the Eye-Eater." The harassed parent would say, "Don't make such a noise; Sina the Eye-Eater will come to pick out your eyes." Chemosit is a Nandi devil, half man, half bird, with a red mouth that shines at night like a lamp. He catches children who are foolish enough to wander away from home lured by his night song. Among the Fors, a Central African tribe, girls meddling with the milk-pots or stealing milk be-

hind their mothers' backs are punished with epilepsy by a *zitian,* a spirit-servant of the great mountain god. In the Carolines, the ancestral spirits put an unending curse upon the unfilial. Ainu women teach their daughters that were they to marry without being properly tattooed, after death the demons will do all the tattooing with very large knives and at one sitting.

There are also moral stories for the young. A tribe in Queensland has a tale about two boys who were left alone in camp with strict orders not to leave it until the elders returned. The boys, tiring of the place, went down to the sea. Then the Great Serpent of the Rainbow came out of the ocean, caught the boys and turned them into rocks that now stand between two points. "Here you see," the old Blackfellow used to say to the boys, "the result of not paying attention to what you are told by your elders." [6]

These sayings and tales are all serviceable after their fashion, and help to show that there is an ideal line of conduct laid out for youth by parents, even among savages. A far more intensive sort of education, however, is found later in the life of the child.

Adolescence

The second great crisis comes at the time of puberty, and the initiation into the tribe. These may coincide, as Webster thinks, or, as Van Gennep remarks, there may be often a difference between physiological adolescence and social adolescence. He gives an illustration of this: Roman girls are legally nubile at twelve years of age, but physiologically nubile at fourteen or fifteen. In Paris the legal age of marriage is sixteen and a half years, whereas the physiological puberty comes at four-

teen years and four months. In the one case the legal age of marriage is two or three years before puberty, and in the other more than two years after this period. There seems little doubt that physiological puberty does not necessarily mean the same thing as social puberty, and it may perhaps be incorrect to consider initiation ceremonies making the extrance of youth into society as puberty rites. Nevertheless, it is practically impossible to separate the acts undertaken at adolescence from those taking place at the boys' initiation into the tribe as a full-fledged member, and no attempt will be made to do so.

It should be understood clearly that puberty rites and initiation may be a formal procedure, the concern of the tribe as a whole, and the entire social structure of tribal society may be built around these ceremonies, as in Australia; or that puberty rites and initiation may be more an affair of the family or clan, as among several tribes in Northern America. Furthermore, as Lowie notes, adolescent ceremonies for men are remarkable for their rarity among the American Indians, whereas girls' puberty festivals are fairly common. This presence of rites for girls and its comparative absence for boys shows again the danger of making general statements regarding any definite practice covering the whole world and appearing at a definite stage in the development of society.

Several writers have tried to show that the fundamental organization of primitive society is based upon age groups,—the boys, the bachelors, and the married men,—and a definite segregation of these three male divisions is always attempted. This does not hold true in all cases.

The physiological changes at puberty are matters of concern. The provisions made to separate the sexes are often elaborate. With girls, the time of adolescence can be definitely determined, and the fear of contamination is present in much the same way as in the case of childbirth. Much has been made of the fear of the evil effects of blood in general, and more particularly of the blood of women. Seclusion is often insisted upon, not only at puberty, but at definite intervals throughout the life of women. Among the Parsee to this day a room is provided for the monthly seclusion of women. It has no comforts, and from it neither sun, moon, stars, fire, water, sacred implements, nor any human being can be seen. Among some of the California tribes, the girl at the beginning of maturity is considered dangerous to the vegetation and the food supply. When she goes abroad she has her head covered with a blanket or a basket, a visor of feathers over her eyes, or her head bowed with her hair hanging down in front. There is sometimes an analogy shown in the puberty rites of girls between the fructification of the crops and human fruitfulness.

With the boys the period of adolescence is not so exactly determined, and there is no special care taken to protect men, at least, from their society. While the Arunta boys are being painted, as a part of their puberty rites, they are informed that this helps their growth, "and they are also told by tribal fathers and elder brothers that in future they must not play with the women or girls, nor must they camp with them as they have hitherto done, but henceforth they must go to the camp of the men. . . . Up to this time they have been accustomed to go out with the women as they searched for vegetable food and the smaller animals such as lizards and rats;

now they begin to accompany the men in their search for larger game, and begin also to look forward to the time when they will become fully initiated and admitted to all secrets of the tribe, which are as yet kept hidden from them." [7] Modern psychology has shown us the importance of this period in the lives both of boys and of girls.

At adolescence the boys pass from the control of their mothers and the society of women into the hands of their fathers and the associations of men. The surrender of the boys by their mothers is often shown dramatically. Infancy, as Van Gennep records, is frequently regarded as a sort of positive quality, like illness, and this is pushed aside and the boy enters a new door. The awaking of a new power in youth is considered by some tribes as a new birth, the dawning of a new nature. Up to this time he has been a part of his parents' personalities, now he is an individual. Among many peoples we find that every serious event in the physical life is equivalent to death followed by resurrection. There is often a rite simulating death followed by the birth of the adolescent youth. As Webster shows, it is possible in some cases that the neophytes are really hypnotized into believing that they have died and come to life as other creatures. This change of status may be evidenced by some alteration of dress, of decoration: the hair is cut or dressed in a new way, ornaments are worn for the first time, or the face is painted.

Various bodily mutilations are often practiced. Circumcision is perhaps the most widespread of these customs. In ancient times it was found in many places, including Egypt, Palestine, and Persia. Among present peoples it occurs sporadically over the whole world.

Circumcised and uncircumcised tribes often live in the same neighborhood. There have been countless explanations given for this practice, but no single one seems to satisfy all the varied conditions surrounding this mutilation. There is reason to think that we have a similar custom arrived at from several distinct motives. There does not seem to be much evidence for regarding its practice as due to any physiological purpose. It may take place directly after birth, as among the Jews, or be postponed until long after adolescence. In a few instances it may occur after marriage or after a certain number of children are born. It may even be one of the rites preliminary to becoming a priest or a soldier. In general it comes at puberty, and seems to be closely associated with other visible changes in the appearance of the youth who is entering manhood. It is often found in connection with other mutilations of the sexual organs. Among many peoples in Africa, in certain tribes of the Malay Archipelago, and in South America, the girls also undergo a sort of circumcision which is usually regarded as a preliminary to marriage. The ritual surrounding these rites is often very elaborate, and special kinds of instruments are sometimes required.

In addition to circumcision there are other mutilations of the body. Tattooing and scarification, the boring of the ear, the nose, or the lips for the insertion of ornaments, are only a few. Knocking out one or more teeth is a common practice at puberty, among several of the Australian tribes as well as among some African peoples. The teeth knocked out are often preserved with the greatest care.

The reason for these practices may be two-fold,—an indication to all mankind that the novice has passed

from boyhood to manhood, or that the girl has arrived at the age of nubility; and, secondly, these mutilations prove that the youth has been able to withstand suffering.

The ordeal is an important feature of many of these ceremonies. Fright is often a necessary part of the rite, and most ingenious means are taken to play upon the feelings of the novices; hideous masks adorn the figures of the men portraying the gods. Beatings and whippings are frequent. It is considered the very worst form to shirk these ordeals, or to evince the least trace of cowardice. "I remember," writes Howitt, regarding an Australian tribe, "one young lad of about twelve, who showed no more sense of anything going on around him than if he had been a bronze statue, and yet, as he afterwards said, he felt quite sure several times that he was about to be killed." [8] Sometimes, when the boys take leave of their mothers and sisters to undergo the rites, they firmly believe that they will never see their family again.

These puberty ceremonies often have great pedagogical functions. As tests of endurance they teach the male youth the necessity of suffering hardships and privations without complaint. Tabus sometimes serve as lessons in temperance, sexually and gastronomically considered. Strict obedience to the older men is one of the prime requisites in these rites. The codes of morality, the laws regulating conduct in general, and more especially those relating to marriage, tabus, sacred mysteries, songs, and ritual, are all a part of the instruction. There is little doubt that the puberty rites serve very important educational and social ends. The mere fact of the absolute subjection of youth to supernatural as well as mundane authority is of the great-

est value. Webster very pertinently comments upon "the long fasts, the deprivation of sleep, the constant excitement of the new and unexpected, the nervous reaction under long-continued torments, result in a condition of extreme sensitiveness—*hyperæsthesia*—which is certainly favorable to the reception of impressions that will be indelible."

Self-control was amusingly taught in the Dukduk ceremony of New Pomerania. The boy was made to live in a secluded hut in the forest, and was allowed to eat anything he wished, but with the injunction that whatever he ate during this period would remain tabu for him during the remainder of his life.

The most elaborate initiation and puberty ceremonies are probably to be found in Australia. Howitt gives a very full account of one of these rites, witnessed by him in southeastern Australia, which will be greatly abridged.[9] It begins by the men commanding silence among the women and children as they are huddled together in a group surrounded by the men. The boys ready for initiation are drawn out from the group, and skin rugs and blankets are thrown over the women, so that they cannot be seen and are unable to see anything which is going on. The *Kabos* are mentors, whose duty it is to take charge of the boys, never leaving them alone and acting as advisers, instructors, and monitors.

After the boys have been stripped naked, and each has a blanket placed like a cone over his head, with the face appearing at the top, the procession of men, *Kabos,* and novices start up the hill towards the mountains. On the way the *Kabos* tell the boys they must never show any sign of fear or surprise, nor should they by word or deed show that they are conscious of what is

going on around them. Nothing, however, must escape their attention, and everything to which *yah* is attached carries an exactly opposite significance to its apparent meaning.

The ceremony consists of major and minor rites,—the intervals being filled with magical dances, amusing interludes, and buffoonery, all taking part except the *Kabos*. "If one were to imagine all sorts of childish mischief mixed up with the cardinal sins represented in burlesque, and ironically recommended to the boys on their return to the camp and afterwards, it would give a not inapt representation of what takes place. But there is a remarkable feature: that at the end of almost every sentence, indeed of every indecent, immoral, or lewd suggestion, the speaker adds *'Yah!'*—which negatives all that has been said and done."

At a halt in the procession, two old men sit down and begin to make "mud pies," which they pat with childish manners and gestures. Other men come up and say to the boys, "Look at that! Look at those old men, when you get back to the camp, go and do like that, and play with little children—*Yah.*" At another halt, some of the old men come out of the scrub with boughs held round their heads representing a herd of bullocks, and perform some absurd antics to make the boys laugh. But warned by their *Kabos,* they remain stolid.

At a third halt, all the men rub themselves with powdered charcoal, making themselves almost unrecognizable. After more antics, the procession starts again. On the summit of the hill, the first magic dance takes place. Circles of men perform before the boys, and then they form part of the circle. One of the *Gommeras,* or medicine-men, darts into the center and executes the magic

dance, sitting almost on his heels and hopping backwards and forwards with a staring expression on his face. After apparent internal struggles, he produces something from his mouth, as if it had been brought from within his body. The great and deadly power of the *Gommeras* are explained to the boys.

Following a further ascent, another stop is made and the men march before the boys, stooping and supported by a staff, as if they were old and infirm. After another magic dance, the men rush to the boys in great excitement and shout *"Ngai!"* meaning "Good!" and, at the same time, move their arms and hands as if passing something from themselves to the boys. They, in turn, move their hands and arms as if pulling a rope towards themselves. The purpose of all this is to fill the boys, saturate them, with the magic coming from the initiated and the medicine-men, so that "Daramulun will like them."

After various haltings they pass to a spot which is cleared for about twenty-five feet square. Along one side, pairs of holes are dug, about a foot in depth, in which the novices are to stand. A figure of Daramulun in relief is cut on a tree. Ten men then disguise themselves completely by means of strips of bark on their bodies and their heads, with their upper and lower lips reverted by cords tied around the head, showing their teeth and gums. These hideous creatures suddenly appear to the novices. The ten men then in turn perform on a special kind of drum placed before him, and masked figures rush to the novices and begin to dance. One of the *Kabos* kneels behind each boy, the boy sitting on his mentor's knee, and another *Kabo* draws the boy's head to his breast, with his hand over the boys' eyes. The

medicine-man appears, bearing in one hand a short wooden club and in the other a chisel-shaped piece of wood. He approaches each boy in turn, hands his implements to someone, and seizing the boys' head applies one of his lower incisor teeth to the boys' left upper incisor, pressing it upwards. Then he strikes a blow with his chisel on the tooth, and keeps on striking until the tooth falls out. The boy is told on no account to spit out the blood, but to swallow it, otherwise the wound will not heal. The first boy in the rite described by Howitt showed stoical indifference, but the second boy made a great outcry at two attempts on the tooth. The old men now said that the boy had been too much with the women, thereby causing his tooth to be so firmly fixed. It took thirteen blows to release the tooth.

Admonitions regarding the power of the god Daramulun being given, the boys are invested with the men's belt. Dances follow for the remainder of the night, some to amuse, some to illustrate the magical powers of the medicine-men, and others to enforce tribal morality or to perpetuate tribal legends. Finally the rite is over, and now the boys have to live by themselves in the bush, on such food as they can catch and such as is lawful for them to eat. The medicine-men will not consent to the boys taking their places in the tribal communities and marrying, until they are satisfied as to their conduct. In some cases this period of bush life is of several months' duration, and, in one case mentioned, marriage was not allowed until after several years had elapsed.

There is little comment needed regarding this rite,—the terrific ordeal and the indelible impression it must

make upon the novices, riveting the influence and power of the old men.

The institution called the men's-house is found among a large number of primitive tribes scattered over a great part of the world, and several writers have assumed that its development is due primarily to the desire to separate the sexes from the time of puberty onward. This is indeed true in some cases. In Melanesia, for example, the boys on arriving at manhood take up their residence in the men's-house. This is the bachelor headquarters, and entrance is, of course, denied to women. The men's-house, however, may be a gathering-place not only for the unmarried youth but for all the men in the community, and the development of this institution cannot always be traced back to rites centering around adolescence. Some tribes limit membership in the men's-house to the elders.

A characteristic of some of the American tribes is the guardian spirit, or personal totem. On this phenomenon, as on all others, it is impossible to make general statements. There is often a confusion between the personal totem, which is usually *not* inherited, and the clan totem shared by all members of the clan. The latter type of totem does not concern us here.

The personal totem, or guardian spirit, is generally obtained at the time of adolescence. There are many exceptions to this rule, however, especially when the time of initiation does not correspond with the time of puberty. This totem is sometimes obtained at birth. In Samoa, when a child is expected, the relatives begin to draw upon the ground one after another figures of animals. The one that remains at the moment the child is born becomes his special property.

This guardian spirit is a protector of the young man just starting out on his journey through life. Between him and the spirit there is a most intimate relationship. The guardian may be an animal, a plant, some natural object such as a cloud, or even something inanimate. Peace may sometimes be a totem, and in that case the youth is a pacifist for life, no matter how many wars are raging around him. In North America this totem is usually obtained as the result of fasting and contemplation.

Among the Omaha Indians, the mind of the adolescent boys was said to have "become white," and a complicated rite took place at this time.[10] This was called "to stand sleeping," signifying that the novice was oblivious of the world around him and conscious only of what went on within himself. After certain preliminary prayers, the boy set out for some quiet place to fast for four days and nights. For four days he rested, ate very little, and spoke infrequently. During this time he was supposed to have a dream or vision. This usually took the form of some animal or bird. It might, however, be some inanimate object, some quality. On his return, he sought out the individual in the tribe who had had a similar dream, and confided to him his secret. It then became necessary for the boy to set out and find the animal or the bird seen in the dream, kill it, and preserve a part or a whole of the body. This trophy became the visible sign of his dream, and was regarded as his most precious possession. He could wear it on his scalp-lock, or elsewhere on his person, during dances or when going to war. When the dream was of something unobtainable, a symbolic representation was made. Some visions were better than others,—the hawk was considered favorable,

as it helped to success in war. Bears were "not so good," as they were clumsy and slow-moving. Snakes were "not good." To dream of the moon was considered the greatest misfortune. The moon would appear to the youth carrying in one hand the bow and arrow, the symbol of the male sex, and in the other the burden-strap used by the women. It would try to force the burden strap into the boy's hands. If the youth in his dream took the bow and arrow, all was well and he escaped the evil effects of the dream. If, on the other hand, he was forced to take the strap, he forfeited his manhood and became like a woman. He was then obliged for the remainder of his life to speak and dress like women, and to carry on their occupations. "It is said that there have been those who, having dreamed of the moon, and having had the burden strap forced on them, have tried to conceal this ill luck for a time, but that few have succeeded." Suicide was the only means of escape.

There were certain tabus often required of the boy in relation to his totem. It has been noted that among the Omahas the boy killed his guardian spirit and wore a part of the body,—a claw, perhaps,—on his person. It is usual to forbid a person to eat any part of his totemic animal. If a dangerous wild animal is the totem, a prayer of apology is sometimes offered before killing it. The totems vary in power, and some are far more desirable than others.

There seems to be some idea of the assimilation of the character of the animal totem to that of the person who has this animal for his guardian. If the deer is his totem, and, when hard pressed, he prays to the deer, he is given fleetness. If he dreams of the coyote, he has the cunning of this animal. An eagle, with great

range of sight, can bestow upon the man who has this bird as his guardian the gift of foretelling the future. Thunder gives the ability to control the elements, and the authority to conduct certain religious rites. Among the Omahas, no one can choose his personal totem, but it is the general belief of the people that the powerful animals and agencies are apt to be drawn toward those who possess natural gifts of mind and strength of will.

There is some question regarding the worship of the totem. This feeling may be entirely absent and replaced by respect and regard as for a brother. This is a sort of "imaginary brotherhood" set up between an individual and some object of his environment.

We often find a stratification of society along lines of the guardian spirits. It is not unnatural for those who have had the same vision to regard themselves as related. This is one cause, but only one, for the formation of the secret society, which will be discussed later. There is no doubt that these puberty rites furnish a very real social bond among those who are initiated at the same time, or have the same personal totem. There is almost a "caste feeling" developed as the result of these ceremonies. When it is remembered that in some cases the entire religious life of a tribe centers in these observances at puberty, one realizes the important part they play. They are often the occasion for great assemblies of people from far and near, who come together perhaps only once during the year, and solely for the purpose of witnessing these rites.

The ceremonies at adolescence in primitive society have analogies among more developed peoples. The Eleusinian mysteries of the Greeks present some strik-

ing parallels. The training of the Spartan youth might also be considered. In the Catholic Church, confirmation is preceded by a "retreat," confession, self-sacrifice, and fasting, and the ceremony itself is full of pomp. Synods have declared it must "be celebrated with all possible solemnity." The sensitiveness of the children at this time is great. The veils, candles, and the splendor of the altar and the vestments, together with the music, make a most impressive setting for the rite itself. Souvenirs and symbolic presents follow. Psychologically, at least, the puberty rites and confirmation belong in somewhat the same category.

Several have pointed out the connection that seems to exist between adolescence and conversion in the Puritanical sense,—a change of life and a new birth. The average age of "getting religion" and of sexual maturity seem to coincide.

Marriage will be passed over as a crisis in life, as this will be taken up in the next chapter.

Death

The final crisis is death. The savage often has myths accounting for this very real enemy. It may be said in general that death is usually something introduced into a world of happiness by some act of man or of beast,—an opening of Pandora's box, as it were.

Among the Melanesians of the New Hebrides, it was believed that at first men never died, but when they were old they cast their skins like snakes and came out with youth revived. Once a woman, growing old, went to a stream to change her skin. She threw her old skin into the water; as it floated down, it caught against a stick. Then she went home, where she had left her child.

The child refused to recognize her, crying that its mother was an old woman, not like this young stranger, and to pacify the child she went after her old skin, put it on, and from that day onward mankind ceased to cast their skins and died.[11]

There are often important differences between physiological facts and sociological theories. A child, as we have already seen, may not be considered sociologically born until he has been introduced as a member of his tribe; he may not be sociologically adolescent until he has passed through certain rites; sociological fatherhood may differ from actual fatherhood; or a mere boy may be sociologically married to a very young girl, as in India, whereas physiological marriage is long delayed. In the same way, death sociologically considered and physical death may not coincide. Among the Melanesians, the term *mate* is used for a dead person, but also for the aged and for one seriously ill and likely to die. Rivers points out that in the olden times there is little doubt that the seriously ill and the aged were actually put to death. At the present time the aged and those very sick are dead for all social purposes. There is a confusion of categories from our point of view, but this is not so from the primitive standpoint.[12]

Savages without exception believe in a human soul that leaves the body temporarily in sleep and more or less permanently at death. This idea is closely associated with the belief that there are souls or spirits in trees and animals, as well as in inanimate objects. Man's attempt to establish communication with these different kinds of souls or spirits is summed up in the word worship:—prayer, divination, and sacrifice. His explanations regarding these spirits are to be found in his myth-

ology. Religion illustrates better than any other phase of life the continuity of ideas existing between the savage and civilized man.

This belief in a soul does not necessarily mean a belief in immortality. The idea of life after death is universal as I have said, but this soul may be injured and even die if care is not taken to protect it.

"The first idea of Religion," wrote Hume, "arose not from a contemplation of the works of Nature, but from a concern with regard to the events of life, and from the incessant hopes and fears which actuate the human mind." Now the most important event in primitive life is death. Death, except possibly upon the field of battle, is never thought to be a natural phenomenon. A tree falls and kills a man, lightning strikes and works destruction, a canoe is upset in the surf and its occupants drown; all these events prove the existence of evil spirits. Man sees death all around him,—in plants, in animals, as well as among his fellows, and it is assumed almost without exception that it is the result of a successful battle waged on the living by the malignant spirits of destruction. It has often been noted that fear is probably the basis of religion. Some of the precautions taken to protect the individual at birth have already been recorded, and these efforts are redoubled at the time of illness and death. The terror aroused by sickness and death is one of the greatest stimuli for religious action.

The belief in a soul in man is easily proved to his own satisfaction by the phenomena of sleep and dreaming, swooning, hallucinations, intoxication, and others. A spirit leaves his body during these states and carries on an individual existence. Another takes possession of his body and brings him new sensations. The belief is

reasonable. What are the human shapes appearing in his dreams and visions if they are not spirits? The dream is something very real to the savage. Some peoples fail entirely to discriminate between their experiences in real life and what they dream. Sir Everard im Thurn, in an account of the Indians of Guiana, writes, "One morning when it was important to me to get away from camp on the Essequibo River, at which I had been detained for some days by the illness of some of my Indian companions, I found that one of the invalids, a young Macusi, though better in health, was so enraged against me that he refused to stir, for he declared that, with great want of consideration for his weak health, I had taken him out during the night and had made him haul the canoes up a series of difficult cataracts. Nothing could persuade him that this was but a dream . . . More than once the men declared in the morning that some absent man, whom they named, had come during the night, and had beaten or otherwise maltreated them; and they insisted on much rubbing of the bruised parts of their bodies"—all a dream.[18]

The concept of the soul is seen in the term "the breath of life." In very many different languages the same word is used to mean either breath or life. The soul may also be seen in the reflection in the water or in a mirror. The fear of breaking a mirror and the custom of turning a mirror face to the wall on a death in the family may both go back to this concept of the soul as a reflection. The spirit may also be manifested in the pulse, the echo, and the name. The shadow may be the soul. It is considered a very bad practice to bury the dead at noonday, when the shadow is shortest. A sick man may even be thought to lose a part of his shadow.

"May your shadow never grow less" is a modern version of the same idea.

For safe-keeping a portion of the soul may be placed outside the body. Here we have the "life-token" theme in folk-lore; the actual life of a person being bound up in something hidden away or in a tree or some other living thing. The transmigration of souls is another common idea of primitive man. The belief that the body is "possessed" by an extraneous spirit is seen in the words catalepsy, a seizing of the body by some demon; ecstasy, a displacement of the original soul by another; and inspiration, a breathing into the body by a spirit. Dante speaks with the greatest sarcasm of the souls of his contemporaries which he meets in Hell, although their bodies, inhabited by devils, are still on earth. A god may even taken possession of the body, as seen in the word enthusiasm. The Thracian Dionysos brought the idea to Greece that a man through physical intoxication—later, through spiritual ecstasy—could pass from the human to the divine.

Sickness is seldom considered a natural phenomenon. It is always sent by an evil spirit. Mental diseases prove conclusively that the body is "possessed." There seems to be a disinclination even among some civilized peoples to regard sickness as natural. The witchcraft delusion in Europe and America illustrates this point. Early medicine was founded upon the fact that illness was caused by demons, and magic was called in to drive them out. This belief would come within the province of psychotherapy at the present time. Many savage practices form a "therapeutic armamentarium" against these evil spirits who scatter disease and death.

A line of reasoning similar to that of the savage is

seen in the belief that illness is sent by God as a punishment. Edmund Gosse, writing of his father in his book *Father and Son*, says: "He retained the singular superstition, amazing in a man of scientific knowledge and long human experience, that all pains and ailments were directly sent by the Lord in chastisement for some definite fault, and not in relation to any physical cause. The result was sometimes quite startling, and in particular I recollect that my step-mother and I exchanged impressions of astonishment at my Father's action when Mrs. Goodyer, who was one of the 'Saints' and the wife of a young journeyman cobbler, broke her leg. My Father, puzzled for an instant as to the meaning of this accident, since Mrs. Goodyer was the gentlest and most inoffensive of our church members, decided that it must be because she had made an idol of her husband, and he reduced the poor things to tears by standing at her bedside and imploring the Holy Spirit to bring this sin home to her conscience."

Death means a passage into the final stage of existence, just as the adolescent rites mark progress from childhood to manhood. The continuity of the souls of the living and of the dead is a very close one. The "presence" of the departed is a very real thing. Dreams, noises, and other strange happenings all prove it. "Laying the ghost" is always necessary. No obligation is more binding than that proper respect be paid to the dead.

This regard for the deceased is founded perhaps more on fear than on love, although both are usually present, and it is not always possible to distinguish between the two ideas. Let us consider, first, a few of the customs centering around fear of the dead kindred. Propitiation

is the keynote of all savage burial rites. However well-disposed a person may be in life, his presence is not desired after death. The souls of the dead cannot strictly be said at first to be "departed spirits," as they usually prefer to linger about the place of death until means are taken to dislodge them. It is not well to have them tarry near the habitation; so provision is often taken to have death occur away from the dwelling. People as far apart as the Eskimo and the Maori of New Zealand carry those whom they fear are to die away from the house, often to a special dwelling, so that there death may take place and the souls of the deceased will not injure those in the regular habitation. When this removal of the dying is not carried out, and the person passes away in his own house, the house may be deserted or even destroyed. When a great chief dies in Africa, sometimes a whole village is deserted. There is little doubt that the custom of closing the room in which death has occurred is to be associated with the same idea. The room is often thoroughly cleaned and renovated before it is again occupied.

Another set of practices attempts to hasten the departure of the soul to its last resting place. The Algonkian beat the walls of the death chamber; the Chinese knock the floor with a hammer; the German peasant waves towels about the room; and, in ancient Rome, the ghost was swept out of the house by the heir.[14]

In the journey to the grave, care is taken to prevent the soul from returning, and the house is barricaded against its reappearance. A knife may be hung over the door or an axe laid on the threshold. The ghost can only return by the same route which has been taken; much ingenuity is therefore seen in preventing its second

appearance. The eyes may be closed or covered by a mask, burial may be by night, or the body may be carried out of the house through a hole in the roof or by the chimney. Frazer gives credit for this device to the Greenlanders, Hottentots, some American tribes, Hindus, Tibetans, Chinese, and the Fijians. The same idea may be shown in Rome where a dead Pope is carried out of St. Peter's through the central doorway, which is used only for this purpose. The soul may be prevented from returning from the burial place by barring it by fire or by water. Perhaps the mourners leap over a fire, or holy water may be sprinkled after the burial procession.

Further precautions are often taken at the grave itself. The course of a river was temporarily changed so that Alaric, the King of the Goths, could be buried in the bed of the stream. A high fence is placed around the grave or stones are piled upon it. The body may be mutilated: the Australian cuts off the right thumb of a dead enemy so that his spirit cannot use a spear.

From the time of the Upper Palæolithic period onward a ceremonial disposal of the dead has been a universal custom. Inhumation is the most common practice. The souls of the unburied wander in everlasting torment. This belief was especially prominent in classical times. Pausanius speaks of the conduct of Lysander as reprehensible in not burying the bodies of Philocles and the four thousand slain by his armies, and adds that the Athenians did as much for the Medes after Marathon, and even Xerxes for the Lacedæmonians after Thermopylæ. Herodotus tells of the Egyptian law which permitted a man to give his father's body in pledge, with

the proviso that, if he failed to repay the loan, neither he nor any of his kin could be buried at all.[15]

The position of the body in the grave is of some concern. It may face the setting sun. Often the body is flexed, with the knees bent and touching the breast. A common explanation offered for this is that the dead go back to their mother-earth in the same position as that of the embryo in the human mother. Myths are often useful in explaining burial customs. Among the Hopi the hands of the dead clasp a stick which projects from the grave. By means of this the soul escapes to the land of the spirits just as the people originally ascended from beneath this earth to the present world by means of a ladder.

The bodies of the dead are often deposited temporarily or even exposed to the creatures of the field until all the flesh has disappeared, and then a permanent and ceremonial burial of the bones is made.

In case the body is not recovered on the field of battle or is lost at sea, burial by effigy is necessary. This custom is found in Greece, Italy, India, China, Samoa, and Mexico. Sometimes this burial is premature and the supposed dead returns. Sociologically he is dead, as his effigy has been buried; physiologically he is alive and well. Hence, the victim must be born again; he must enter the house in the same way as his effigy has left it; and, in some cases, he is considered a child and must go through the puberty rites in order to regain the status of manhood. Plutarch, in his *Roman Questions,* No. 5, describes much the same custom. A man reported drowned in a naval engagement, returned and found the door of his house shut, and he was unable to open it. He was thus forced to sleep before his house. During

the night he had a vision which told him that he should enter by means of the roof. He did this, and became fortunate ever after, living to be a very aged man. Hereafter the custom was always observed under similar circumstances. Plutarch adds that this practice seems to have been derived from the Greeks.

The whole body may be preserved artificially by embalming, or the head alone may be kept. There is no end to the methods used in connection with the dead. Cremation came into practice in the Bronze Age in Europe and it is seldom absent in any great part of the world. It is often found along with inhumation. It may be those high in authority who are cremated and the common people buried; sometimes it is the reverse. The ceremonial deposition of the ashes in an urn or vase is common.

After this very cursory review of some of the most frequent forms of burial, let us note a few of the customs based more specifically upon the love of the dead kindred. Various tabus are necessary to prevent the soul from injuring itself. The Chinese use no knives for fear the soul might be cut; doors are closed carefully, lest the soul might be pinched; bowls of water are emptied so that it may not be drowned. A fast is sometimes made for fear of eating the spirit of the dead.

Prehistoric archæology would be a barren field of research were it not for the universal practice of placing objects in graves. The soul needs food and drink as well as clothing. It may indeed desire its former wife or wives, its slaves, or even its horse. Grave pottery forms the bulk of the collections in any archæological museum. In Peru, the playthings of the child and the weaving utensils of the women are buried with them. Sometimes

there is the idea that the soul returns to occupy the body, and thus it needs all kinds of property ready at hand. The destruction of objects by burning in the funeral pyre is another way to aid the souls of the dead. Pottery vessels are sometimes "killed" by breaking or knocking a hole in the bottom, making them no longer useful for the living but still acceptable to the spirits of the dead.

The degradation of sacrifice is not uncommon, a substitution of an imitation for the real object. The funeral rites of the Chinese illustrate this point very clearly; paper puppets to guard the grave; paper money to scatter for the benefit of the souls who have left no sons; and many others.

Mourning customs are an important feature of savage life. Durkheim has an interesting theory on mourning, which is built on a superstructure of crowd psychology: the coercion of the members of the family. "Not only do the relatives, who are affected the most directly, bring their personal sorrow to the assembly, but the society exercises a moral pressure over its members, to put their sentiments in harmony with the situation. To allow them to remain indifferent to the blow which has fallen upon it and diminished it, would be equivalent to proclaiming that it does not hold the place in their hearts which is due it; it would be denying itself. A family which allows one of its members to die without being wept for shows by that very act that it lacks moral unity and cohesion; it abdicates; it renounces its existence. . . . When the Christian, during the ceremonies commemorating the Passion, and the Jew, in the anniversary of the fall of Jerusalem, fast and mortify themselves, it is not in giving way to a sadness which they feel spontaneously." [16]

This theory seems to satisfy the facts concerning a Catholic wake and other similar practices, but it does not take into account the idea of the fear of the soul of the deceased which seems to be fundamental in any mourning rite of the savage. Several have pointed out that mourning customs are primarily attempts to disguise the living from the dead. We have already seen how little acumen is allowed to ghosts, how easily they can be imposed upon and thwarted. So it is, evidently, with their return to harass the living. They can be completely foiled by a simple disguise. Mourning customs are often the reverse of those of ordinary life; a people who paint their bodies leave it off; the hair is allowed to grow long; the color and the cut of the clothing are changed. The name of the dead is made a tabu. Purification rites are sometimes performed and the living thus put on a "spiritual armor" against the souls of the dead.

The "other world" may have a very definite location, across a desert, beyond a range of mountains, or towards the setting sun. Again, there may be a vagueness regarding its whereabouts. The journey there is curiously alike over a great part of the aboriginal world. The road is difficult and help is required. Combats are sometimes necessary. The dog, the universal possession and a friend of man since very early times, is often needed as an aid to the soul in overcoming the dangers of the journey.

This world where the ghosts of the departed take up their residence has very much the same character as the world of the living. Dreams prove to the savage that a chief in this world is carrying on his vocation in the next; a warrior here is a warrior there. The "happy hunting-

ground" presents conditions perhaps slightly ameliorated from those of the living; there may be an abundance of game and plenty of water for the crops. The caste idea is sometimes found, where certain classes of the population are believed to be entitled to some delights not shared by others. Good hunters and good warriors may receive special blessings on their death. The character of the death may determine the place of the future abode. In Mexico the souls of those who die in childbirth, those killed by lightning or are drowned, are privileged to go to a special abiding place that is far more agreeable than that which receives the souls of those dying in other ways. The ethical feature of retribution, a paradise for the good and punishment for the wicked, is totally lacking among savages who have not come in contact with the white man.

This other world is not only peopled by the ghosts of the dead but it is the abode of the spirits of plants and of animals as well as the dwelling place of the gods. These may represent the powers of nature. Spencer believed that the evolution of the gods in a large sense can be traced to the worship of a human soul. This theory cannot account for the general belief of a savage people in the greater gods.

Ancestor worship is a cult in and of itself, and is something quite different from the universal doctrine of human souls. The worship of ancestors is found in comparatively few places, and these are all regions of high cultures, as Greece and Rome, China and India. In some parts of Polynesia the worship of ancestors may also be considered to be a cult in itself. In all these regions there is a certain very close connection between the definite group of the dead on the one hand and the living

on the other. The entire welfare of the dead depends upon having on earth descendants, usually a son.

These crises of life which we have been considering are all represented to some extent among civilized peoples. Baptism is the purification of the newly born babe; the "churching of women" makes them fit to reassume their place in society; confirmation is to some extent comparable with the rites of puberty. The training for knighthood in feudal times, with its vigils and its ordeals, is certainly somewhat similar to the rites of the savage at adolescence. The Church again appears at death. However free from religious dogma one may have been during his lifetime—he may never have been baptised or confirmed, he may even have been married by a civil rite—at the end, at least, the future of his soul becomes a matter of concern and he is buried by the Church.

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

In the examination of the crises in the life of the savage and the passage from one state to another, nothing was said regarding marriage and the family. They belong to other categories; the family is more or less a biological unit, whereas the institution of marriage in early society is perhaps more economic than anything else. Marriage regulates what might be called the legal association of the sexes, and it also assigns to every individual born "a definite place in that society by which his or her social relations to the rest of society are determined."

The Family Anterior to Human Society

The change from a life in the trees to a life on the ground marks the first important stage in the history of the family. A small arboreal primate gave way to man's nearest ancestors, the giant primates, whose great increase in size and weight made life in the trees precarious. The greater bulk meant that more food was needed than could be found above the ground. The increase of weight made hanging from trees impossible and the tail became functionless. It was also no longer needed to maintain balance. When this proto-anthropoid descended to earth, two possible lines of evolution were open to

him. He could either walk on all fours as the baboon has done, or he could assume the erect attitude as has man and the anthropoid apes. This change to a terrestrial life and the erect posture brought about the specialization of hands and feet. The root of the former tail was depressed between the legs and now served another function, the support of the viscera.

This transition to a life on the ground brought with it greater dangers from other animals, and the protective function of the male was stimulated to offset this added risk. These giant apes had a brain capacity far exceeding their progenitors. The increase in the size of the brain probably made necessary a rapid growth in uterine life.

There was also a decrease in the number of offspring at birth. This may have been due to the increase in the size of the head *in utero,* the pelvis in general being too restricted for multiple offspring. The long period of development after birth brought about a prolongation of helpless infancy with the consequent need for parental care and, more especially, the necessity for paternal solicitude. This prolongation of infancy, coupled with the dangers of a terrestrial life meant co-operation between father and mother, and the family had begun to function.

The anthropoid apes are not gregarious, and, in accord with the theory advanced here, real society does not arrive until the human stage is reached. There is still a large gap between the anthropoid apes and man, more especially in the size and weight of the brain. The cranial capacity of the gorilla, the largest of the apes, is only about one third that of man. Somewhere within the gap articulate speech came into use. With speech

there came to man the possibility of discussion with his fellows. With the large brain there came the power of abstraction, of reasoning back from effect to cause, and of rectifying present conduct from past mistakes. His "learning" could be taught his offspring and thus be an advantage to the next generation.

But we are concerned here only with the family, which is the real unit of society. It grows out of the expression of one of the strongest of man's impulses. It furnishes an instructive basis for altruism and social co-ordination, and brings about the first division of labor. The question of plurality of husbands or of wives merely relates to the form alone. Curiously enough the primary meaning of the word family referred only to the body of slaves and servants who labored for its maintenance. Mommsen uses the phrase "body of servants" as the Latin significance of the term.

The family stands apart as the one human institution where physical and physiological functions, and psychological ones as well, clearly define the status of the two main members of the group, the father and the mother. Self-perpetuation and self-preservation are enlarged into family perpetuation and family preservation, and on these two "proto-positions" hang most of the elements found inherent in early society. The whole structure of the family is based upon these two lines of action. The expression and regulation of the sex impulse must therefore receive attention.

Sex in Early Society

A great deal has been written regarding the prominence of sex in the lower orders of mankind. Some would have us believe that the savage thinks of little else, and

that the greater part of his time and of his ingenuity is turned towards sexual affairs. The lowest savages can plead "not guilty" to this charge. In the higher stages of primitive society there is often gross sexuality, but the perversions of sexual life are almost entirely absent in the lower types of savagery. The separation of the sexes by the institution of the men's-house, the prevalence of curious marriage relationships, the character of many festivals and many folk-tales, the presence of certain kinds of worship; all these and many more are usually taken as examples of the prominence of sex among primitive peoples. The natural attitude in regard to sex matters and to various bodily functions is a characteristic of uncivilized society. Sex, it is true, does not stand apart as a thing to be hidden. Offenses against our ideas of modesty and decency do often occur, but it is certainly true that our standard of much which is modest and decent would not pass in primitive society. It can therefore truthfully be said that, taken in the large, the savage is a clean-minded individual, in spite of transgressions against our code of right and wrong. This question of morality will be considered at length in another place.

We may find among peoples of the very lowest cultures a family life not at all unlike that of an ideal American household. Many years ago, I lived in the center of the Guatemalan bush for three periods comprising almost a year in length. My hut was a shelter composed only of a roof. It touched the house of a family group consisting of a mother and three sons. The eldest had two wives; the second, one; and the third was unmarried. There were eight children, and all lived together in this single-room house, consisting, also, of only a roof, with no sides. During the entire time I

was there I heard no word of censure, no wrangling of any kind. In spite of the complication of relationships—the multiple wives, the mother-in-law, and the unmarried son—I daily witnessed the life of one of the most ideal family groups I have ever seen. And these people belonged to a tribe which had never come into intimate contact with the Spanish-speaking people of the country. They were, fortunately for my purposes, uncivilized, and perhaps fortunate themselves in this respect.

There are the greatest extremes in the social solidarity of the family as a group. There may be a separation of the unmarried boys and girls from the family, usually inaugurated at adolescence; or there may be a segregation of all the men of the community in the men's-house; and in some cases, this separation exists even at meal times. When, however, we review the differences in the character of the family life in various countries occupied by members of our own race, we realize that family ideals operate within very wide limits. The savages are not the only people who relegate the women to domestic affairs pure and simple, nor is the savage the only person who spends most of his time at his club. Unlike the modern civilized community, however, it is the men, not the women, who take the greatest interest in religious pursuits. Most frequently the women are denied any active part in the worship of the gods.

This is not the time or place to enlarge upon the present status of the modern family where, beyond the mere act of propagation, the activities of some families cease. Day nurseries, nursery schools, kindergartens, and summer camps take away many of the functions of the family. Instruction, deportment, and religion are all usually outside the family at the present time.

It is not well to draw too sharp a distinction between modern man and, more especially, the continental European and primitive man, when it comes to the question of marriage and the gratification of the sex impulse. There is no doubt that the two categories are usually distinct in savage society. Marriage is often based purely upon economic grounds. Man needs someone to work for him, to cook, and to labor in the field. But how different is this from the kind of union often found in peasant communities in Europe and country districts in America? We often fail to realize that the Anglo-Saxon family ideal is late in putting in an appearance and is nearly unique.

In the consideration of marriage as an institution, the discussion will be limited to the question of legal wedlock, leaving aside the subject of sex. As has already been observed, marriage and the gratification of the sex impulse may belong to two distinct categories, not only among savages but also among many peoples who do not come under this classification. From the point of view of sociology, the nature of sexual unions is of little consequence until they are recognized by custom or law.

Westermarck's latest definition of marriage is "A relation of one or more men to one or more women which is recognized by custom or law and involves certain rights and duties both in the case of the parties entering the union and in the case of the children born of it." It is needless to add that the rights and duties involved therein vary widely. It should be noted also that this definition does not say anything about the exclusive possession of one or more men by one woman, or of one or more women by one man. We shall see later that

certain forms of marriage in some parts of Australia, for example, are characterized by what has often been called group-marriage, or "sexual communism."

The historical approach brings out clearly the various theories that have been held on the origin of marriage and of the domestic group.

Classical Ideas of the Family

Among the first theorists regarding the family were Plato and Aristotle, both of whom use for illustrations of an early family group the Cyclopes of Homer, who "have neither assemblies for consultation nor *themistes,* but everyone exercises jurisdiction over his wives and his children." This was the patriarchal theory made more precise by Filmer's *"Patriarchia,"* published in London in 1680. This idea of a patriarchate is, however, usually associated with Sir Henry Maine, formerly Regius Professor of Civil Law at Cambridge. In his *Ancient Law,* published in 1861, he considered the primordial cell of social development to be the patriarchal family. It is difficult to say "what society of men had not been originally based upon the paternal family." He found it among the Romans, Greeks, Hindus, Celts, and the Teutonic and Slavonic peoples. Maine really knew intimately only the Roman family, where the *pater familias* was the head of the household and had the power of life and death over his wife, children, and slaves. There is a considerable difficulty in determining how large a part the patriarchal family has played in the early histories of the other peoples enumerated above. Maine certainly showed a "lofty contempt" of the large mass of data upon savage peoples. The patriarchal family is by no means a simple group, and it is certainly

not the "primordial cell" out of which the family has grown.

Evolutionary Ideas of the Family

Bachofen's *Das Mutterrecht* appeared in the same year as Maine's book. This was a general attack upon the theory of the patriarchate as being the first form of the family. Maine's theory was first definitely challenged by Spencer. Post, McLennan, Morgan, Lubbock, and a host of other writers whom we may call the Evolutionary School also disagreed with Main. Although often differing among themselves in detail, these writers all believed in a definite series of steps in the evolution of the family, postulating promiscuity as the original stage of the sexual relations of the savage.

Dismissing for the moment the arguments advanced for and against a universal beginning in promiscuity, let us investigate the other main points of the Evolutionary School. The matriarchate would necessarily follow a promiscuous start, as fatherhood would be unknown, and the mother would naturally be the head of the family and society would be dominated by her. But a true matriarchate or woman-rule has never been found in any society. Female descent, however, is by no means uncommon, and the distinction should always be made between mother-rule, or the matriarchate, and mother-descent, or the matrilineal family. McLennan believed that female infanticide was a common, perhaps a general custom. The natural consequence of this was few women—hence the marriage of one woman with several men, polyandry, which is the earliest type of the family, according to this theory, which rests on marriage. Multiple husbands in time give way to mul-

tiple wives, commonly called polygamy, but more properly termed polygyny. The *couvade* marks the transition between the two types, where emphasis is laid upon the father. With polygyny the patriarchal family follows as a matter of course, the male head ruling over his numerous wives and children. Finally monogamy is placed at the end of the series.

Modern Ideas of the Family

The third stage in the history of the discussion of the evolution of the family and marriage centers around the names of Starcke and Westermarck, although others might well be added to the list of those who are critical of the Evolutionary School.[1] With the possible exception of Rivers, practically all modern investigators of this question seem to agree that promiscuity never was a universal stage in the history of the sexual life of the savage. Rivers writes, "We have clear evidence that existing varieties of mankind practise sexual communism, and man must therefore have tendencies in that direction." But he adds, "We need more evidence before we should make up our minds concerning the existence of group-marriage as a regular feature of the history of human society. Even if its existence in the case of the clan can be proved, or if it can be shown to be, or to have been, a widespread practice, it need not follow that it has been universal among mankind and has formed a constant feature of the evolution of human society." [2]

There are no definite steps starting with promiscuity and leading upward to monogamy at the apex of the pyramid. Some of the peoples with most rudimentary cultures, such as the Bushmen, the Andamanese, and the Veddahs are strictly monogamous. The pairing of

one man and one woman has a great "survival value," as it affords to the offspring the care of both parents.

The arguments seeming to favor a universal stage of promiscuity "flow from two sources." The first is composed of books of ancient authors, the tales of travellers, and the accounts of missionaries. From the time of Herodotus and Strabo down to the present, many writers have attempted to describe the customs of savages. The traveller's pen has been declared to be a "thinking organ." There is perhaps no phase of early life where more confusion and misinterpretation have followed from this "organ" in the hands of the traveller than in regard to sexual relations and marriage. Unlimited promiscuity has been reported from all parts of the world, and nowhere is it really found. The reports of missionaries often fail to interpret correctly marital relations differing from those of civilized man. There are important exceptions to this rule, however, and we have many excellent and accurate accounts from ministers of the Gospel regarding savage customs.

The second class of arguments which seem to favor promiscuity falls into the realm of folk-lore—survivals —comparable to the rudimentary organs of the body. These no longer function, but their mere presence shows that at some time in the past they had an important part to play. Much of value may often be learned from the study of certain customs which seem to be emblematic of the past. Marett likens this study of survivals in folk-lore to the process of casting out of the drawing-room the unfashionable bit of furniture and placing it in the man's room, in the children's playroom, or even in the attic.[3] These things were formerly admired and useful; now they are scorned. There is always a danger

in the investigation of the old-fashioned. This furniture may not have been used by the family; it may have been inherited from distant relatives; it may have been bought at auction; or it may not even be "an antique," and thus have had no previous association with the family at all. As an interpretation of the past, difficulties are often encountered in the study of survivals. One can go too far, and many lines of explanation are often available to account for curious customs out of place in their present environment. The true interpretation is perhaps not the most obvious.

Writers of the Evolutionary School have cited many customs which they believe are survivals of a time when promiscuity reigned. There seems little doubt that all of these practices can be satisfactorily explained in other ways, and that indiscriminate sexual relations are not accountable for their beginnings. The levirate is one of these customs, the marriage of the dead brother's widow. This was formerly a practice of the Hebrews, and is still found among many savage peoples. In Deuteronomy, xxv, 5-6, we read: "If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her. And it shall be that the first-born which she beareth shall succeed in the name of his brother which is dead, that his name be not put out of Israel." This was a religious obligation among the Jews, based upon the desire for offspring and the fact that a marriage contract was between families and not between individuals. The levirate may assume several forms; sometimes the widow is given to one of the younger brothers of the

deceased husband, at other times the widow may be allowed to choose from a large number of her husband's kinsmen. The man may even have access to his wife's sisters during her lifetime. As Lowie makes clear, the juridical and psychological implications of the levirate may be quite different. The custom does not in any way indicate a previous state of promiscuity, but is, in general, as Tylor states, the result of the idea that marriage is a contact between groups rather than between individuals, and the support of the widow is incumbent upon the family of the dead husband. The sororate is also found, where the man marries the sister or sisters of his wife.

Another series of customs advocated as proof of the free sexual relations cluster about the term "phallic worship." The greatest development of this type of practice is found, not among the most primitive peoples, but among those far higher in the scale of culture, as in Greece, Rome, and India. In the latter country there is proof that it was a comparatively late arrival. The germ of phallic worship shows itself in the Vedas, and the "gross luxuriance of licentiousness . . . is of later growth." There is nothing necessarily unusual and repelling in worshipping the powers of generation, the symbol of life. The fruits of the field may be dependent upon magical rites of an earthly nature, and the presence of these rites in the spring festivals of many peoples,—the May Pole dances, for example,—are interesting survivals of the same idea. But they do not carry with them any proof of sexual license as a universal stage in the development of society. The same can be said regarding sacred prostitution, the lascivious religious rites connected with the worship of

the Babylonian Mylitta, the Hellenic Aphrodite, the Carthaginian Moloch, and the Italian Venus. These are special developments among an advanced people of the worship of procreation. The sacred harlotry mentioned in the Old Testament falls into the same category.

Another class of practices advanced in the attempt to prove the same theory is the "scandalous nuptial rites" which Bachofen and Lubbock regard as acts of "expiation for individual marriage." It was argued that when a woman, originally held as a common possession, became the companion of one man, there was a violation of communal rights, and some compensation was demanded by the companions of the single owner. The law of *jus primæ noctis* applies to chiefs, priests, and other leaders, as well as to the friends of the bridegroom. The *droit du seigneur* which some suppose existed in feudal times in Europe falls into the same class. Westermarck gives a whole chapter to customs of this kind. There seems little doubt that they can be explained in several ways. The strict regulations thrown about this class of customs in regard to time, place, and those accorded the privilege, seem to show it is an encroachment on monogamy rather than a delimitation of a former state of promiscuity.

There remains to be considered group-marriage or sexual communism, found principally in parts of Australia, Melanesia, and Polynesia. Here, it must be confessed, there is far more difficulty in finding an explanation pointing away from promiscuity. In its simplest form, a group of men is married to a group of women. In practically every case, each man has a primary wife, but access to her is allowed to others. In the same way a woman has a main husband, but she is

not his sole companion. In most instances the men as a group are related to each other and also in a very definite way to the women who, in turn, are of the same kindred. It is not a haphazard arrangement between a heterogeneous collection of men and a group of women. This custom is hedged about usually by the strictest rules. Here, as in the former case of *jus primæ noctis,* it seems probable that we have an intrenchment on monogamy, starting with a single wife and enlarging the gamut of sexual relations, rather than a legalization and a more strict proscribing of the limits of free sexual communism. Strength is given to this view by the fact that tribal incest rules are usually strictly enforced in all places where group-marriage is found. Among the Masai, for example, who allow a preliminary freedom to unmarried warriors and immature girls which may be likened to prostitution, each man finally settles down in a separate establishment with one wife.

The classificatory system of relationships has to be considered in connection with the question of promiscuity. Morgan was the first to record the fact that most peoples with cultures of the lower order have a system of designating relationship which differs to a great extent from the method in use among civilized peoples. This classificatory system uses terms for classes of persons rather than for any distinct individual. Our system is classificatory in several instances as, for example, in the use of the word cousin. Limiting its use to first cousins, it may refer to mother's brother's or sister's children, male or female, and father's brother's or sister's children of either sex. It is quite as general a term as several used in connection with the classificatory

system. There are very many complications and differences in the orders of nomenclature used by primitive peoples which cannot be considered here.

In the Hawaiian system of classificatory terms there is a segregation by generations. Excluding differences based on age or sex, all a man's relatives of the same generation are addressed by the same term. The word father is used for the father and all the father's brothers and for mother's brothers as well. Mother is the term employed in addressing the true mother and all her sisters, and also the father's sisters. Brother is used for own brother, and for all male cousins; sister for own sister, and for all female cousins. Several writers have shown that this system, far from being the first, as thought by Morgan, is a later development of a less simple method, often called the Dakota system. In this the terms used for persons of an older generation than that of the speaker are employed for father and father's brother, mother's brother, father's sister, and mother and mother's sister. Both systems are alike in having single words for father and father's brother and mother and mother's sister, but the second has a separate term for mother's brother and for father's sister. These are only two of the many varieties of family nomenclature.

Do these terms used in the classificatory system connote sexual communism? Morgan believed that the Hawaiian system, based strictly on generations, pointed to a time when there was sexual license between all members of the same generation, between brothers and sisters and between all cousins, as each sex addressed the other sex of the same generation in the same terms. It barred intercourse between parents and children, as they belonged to different generations. A man's uncles

were also his fathers, because they were potential partners of the man's mother and her sisters, who were in turn sisters of his father and uncles. So all a man's nephews and nieces were his sons and daughters, because he was the potential companion of all his sisters, as they were all his wives as well as the wives of his brothers.

There are several difficulties in the way of accepting the premise that relationship terms were primarily based upon sexual prerogatives; that "father" as a term meant procreator or potential procreator. McLennan, Cunow, and Lowie have all noted the fact that if we accept the theory that all "fathers" are potential begetters, we must also not fail to accept the corollary that "mothers," the real mother and her sisters, have all given birth to the child. Morgan, Rivers, and others offer explanations for this dilemma, but they are open to grave objections. The Hawaiian system represents simply a clear stratification of blood kindred by generation. In the levirate and sororate there is ample explanation why the father and father's brother and the mother and mother's brother should be classed together. Kinship terminology does not necessarily connote an actual sexual relationship. A man may never inherit his brother's widow because his brother still survives him, or because the widow is already married to another brother, but, nevertheless, he is called father by his brother's children.

The classificatory system stands for certain social relationships between members of a group, based upon kinship, but not upon an actual sexual relationship. Social etiquette demands special recognition of certain lines of relatives. In some cases this may lead to the "joking relationship," a "reciprocal familiarity, such as

chaffing or billingsgate between individuals standing in a specific relationship." In other cases etiquette may demand a strict tabu between certain relatives.

The theory of Rivers in connection with group-marriage and relationship terms should be examined in some detail. While admitting that there is "no reason to believe that Morgan's theory of an original promiscuity is correct," he adds that there is more evidence for an intermediate stage of organized sexual communism as shown by group-marriage. "Many features of the classificatory system of relationship, otherwise difficult to understand, become readily explicable if they grew out of a state of society in which a group of men had a group of wives in common." Again, "Sexual group-relations form a potentiality of human nature which we have got to accept." Rivers certainly makes it clear that he considers it probable that after the earliest "collecting stage" where small groups wandered about as hunters, is passed, there comes in with agriculture and the clan organization sexual communism, as shown by the classificatory system and group-marriage. It should be emphasized that the classificatory system and group-marriage are not conterminous. The former is found throughout the aboriginal world, whereas group-marriage is comparatively rare. It is absent in many large areas. Sexual license and marriage fall into two distinct categories, as has already been shown. Sexual promiscuity is undoubtedly found in some early societies as it is found today in modern life, but this is quite a different thing from saying that it has taken the place of the individual family. The mere presence of the strictest rules regarding prohibited degrees of marriage and the necessity of the choice of a mate being made from

a selected group all point away from the thesis of freedom of sexual life. Infractions of these rules are often punishable by death. In practically every case of group-marriage, as found among savages, the laws of incest of the tribe are strictly observed, and there is often a definite relationship existing between the group of husbands and the group of wives, as well as among the husbands as a class. Finally, a man almost always has a main wife and the woman a main husband. Marital rights accorded to others, either as kinsmen or as guests, are simply an extension of the privilege of the true husband to others, and usually by his permission. Concubinage based upon strict rules of relationship might be used to express the status of secondary wives or secondary husbands. In Roman times *concubinatus* meant a permanent cohabitation, without marriage, recognized by law. In the case of many tribes, men of distinction were the ones who usually had multiple wives, as is the general rule in polygyny.

In a few cases, age and not kinship is the factor connecting the members of a group of husbands. In one part of New Guinea all the men born within a given time make up a group, and between all members of this age-class there are mutual social and religious duties, as well as privileges. The men share wives in common, but even here each man has a main wife, his individual possession.

An attempt has been made to answer some of the arguments which have been advanced in the attempt to prove either a preliminary stage of promiscuity in the history of the family or a stage appearing with the clan organization and agriculture, marked by the presence of group-marriage and relationship terms. There are

other arguments against a postulated state of sexual promiscuity. Howard divides these into three classes: the zoological, the physiological, and the psychological.

We have already considered the prolongation of infancy among the anthropoid apes and the necessary co-operation of the father and mother. The matrimonial habits of man's nearest progenitors are not promiscuous. Marital fidelity is found among the animals. The economic feature of the co-operation of the father and mother in obtaining a sufficient food supply has also been pointed out. In other words, a monogamous family, found among many of the lowest savages, is a direct inheritance from the non-human animal world.

The physiological, perhaps more properly called the biological, argument against promiscuity is more difficult to prove. Free sexual relations would undoubtedly lead to very close inbreeding. Scientific knowledge is not, however, available at the present time to prove the evil effects of this method of mating as regards man. Some have claimed that sexual excitement in the long run may lead to barrenness, but there is no proof that a low birth rate would necessarily follow promiscuity. The pathological condition unfavorable to fecundity in prostitutes may be entirely the result of diseases unknown to the early savage.

The psychological argument, so strongly advanced by Westermarck, is based upon the presence of sexual jealousy among animals as well as among men. Too much can be made of this, as there is no doubt that in communities practicing group-marriage jealousy seems to be often strangely lacking. Its failure to play its part may be due to a "socially induced custom."

The history of the discussion of marriage and the

family has been traced, starting with the classical idea of the patriarchate: next, the evolutionary school with definite stages of development, beginning with promiscuity and ending with monogamy, and, finally, the modern theory which, denying the postulation of a previous universal state of sexual freedom, places monogamy as the first form of marriage. Even Rivers seems to grant that the earliest societies, "the collectors," did not practice promiscuity. Monogamy is found among many of the lowest savages known, and it is the most common form of the marriage relationship. Group-marriage, which is perhaps a feature of clan organization, but not by any means a necessary factor, may be, in my opinion, a special development from monogamy. The classificatory system of relationship, found the world over, in no way indicates a corresponding prevalence of sexual communism. Nothing has ever completely supplanted the individual monogamous family in the history of human society.

Varieties of the Forms of Marriage

Monogamy is not, of course, the only type of marriage, but the presence of polyandry or polygyny must be due, as Lowie remarks, to some non-biological factor in a community, as the number of males and females born is approximately equal. Polyandry, far from being a common form of marriage and a necessary step in the evolution of the family, is a very rare and abnormal type. It is found in a few Eskimo communities, among the Bahima—a Bantu tribe of Africa—the Guanches of the Canary Islands, and in the Marquesas Islands. "Type specimens" of polyandry are found in southern India and in Tibet. Formerly it was imagined that an

unfavorable environment was one of the main causes for a plurality of husbands, as it took more than one man to support a family. The environmentalist has little ground for this supposition, as the Eskimo are maritime hunters, the Todas are a pastoral people, and in Tibet the agricultural portion of the population are polyandrous while the pastoral part of the inhabitants are not. It was at one time thought that female infanticide was a second factor necessary for the rise of this type of marriage. The practice of killing female children is found to some extent among the Eskimo, where girl babies are considered to be a burden, owing to the arduous life in the polar regions. Female infanticide may also be the origin of polyandry among the Todas, but the custom is not based upon economic grounds as among the Eskimo. The agricultural Tibetans and the Marquesans are polyandrous, but they do not put their female infants to death. Hence there is no definite correlation between economic conditions, female infanticide, and this special type of marriage.

There are two varieties of polyandry: the fraternal or "adelphic," found in Tibet, where the husbands are brothers; and the non-fraternal, called,—mistakenly, according to Rivers,—the Nair type, found among the Nairs of Malabar. In Tibet when a man marries, his brothers also share in the relationship as a matter of course. They all live together in amity. As soon as a child is born, the eldest brother performs a rite called "giving the bow and arrow," that makes him the legal father, although all his brothers are considered also as the fathers of the child. In the non-fraternal type, the husbands often live in different villages, and the wife

usually visits each in turn. Here the sociological father is the first man married, and his performance of the bow and arrow rite makes him the legal father not only of the child but also of subsequent progeny. After the birth of two or three children another husband may become the "father." Here again we have an excellent example of the sociological status differing from that based on physiology. Another illustration of this is given by Rivers from Melanesia, where the man who plays the part of mid-wife becomes the father of the child and his wife is regarded as the mother. Social convention may thus determine parenthood. Legal adoption with us does much the same thing; it changes the status of the parents from a physiological to a legal and social one. Among the Todas, where the practice of female infanticide is declining, there is a tendency, especially among those of the Nilgiri Hills, to combine polyandry with polygyny, a set of brothers sharing, not a single wife, but perhaps two, thus bringing about a type of group-marriage. Polyandry has been reported in classical times. Polybius states that it was found in ancient Greece, and, according to Cæsar, it occurred among the Celtic inhabitants of Great Britain.

Polygyny, unlike the preceding form of marriage, is found over a great part of the world. It is always coincident with monogamy, as the proportion of the sexes prevents its practice by the entire population. There are few complications attached to this variety of wedlock. The forms differ according to whether the wives live together or have different households. The rigors of an Arctic life or the devastating effects of war may result in a surplus of women; polygyny may result. In general, it is usually limited to the rich and to those of

rank. Africa is the classical home of aboriginal polygyny. It is also, of course, widespread in Mohammedan countries. In some parts of Melanesia it is the privilege of the aged to have multiple wives. In Eddystone Island, for example, the practice is allowed a chief who has taken ten heads in warfare. It appears as the result of wealth, but in itself it may produce wealth, as there are more helpers in the house and in the fields and a larger number of children who are potential workers. The girls may later yield goodly sums to their parents in marriage.

It is a mistaken idea that polygyny is always a sign of female inferiority, and that it is always a degeneration on the part of the women. The wife may welcome others as helpers in her labors. Barrenness in the first wife renders a second necessary in order to have children. In China, where a son is of paramount importance, second wives are often selected as the result of the failure of the first to bear a son. In all polygynous communities there is always a tendency toward monogamy in regarding the first wife as the true wife and the others as concubines. The fundamental type of marriage is monogamy. Polyandry is not a stage in the history of marriage, but a sporadic phenomenon. Polygyny, although far more widespread, does not carry with it the difficult problems of fatherhood encountered in the case of multiple husbands, and it is of little sociological importance in the history of human society as a whole.

Marriage Contract

Of far more significance than the form of marriage is the manner by which a marriage is made. In the

investigation of the marriage contract, historically considered, the classical idea was that marriage by capture was a universal practice. It was also formerly thought that female infanticide was very common, leading to few women; and, consequently, there was a necessity of going outside the group and forcibly capturing a wife. From this arose the prevalent custom of exogamy, meaning "to marry out." The study of survivals was brought to bear upon this subject, as in the attempt to prove freedom in sexual relationships. Symbolic abductions in various forms are noted over great parts of the world. The sham battle, the pretended theft, the hidden bride, were all a part of the argument to show that originally there was a real battle and a capture of the bride from an enemy people. Still later survivals in the rice and confetti battles in many modern weddings could be added as a case in point. Some have explained these acts of ceremonial avoidance as a systematic expression of coyness of the female, like the coyness of birds in the pairing season. It became "good form" for the girl not to yield without a struggle. In Sparta the seizure of the bride was founded on an ancient custom that the girl should not surrender her freedom and her virginity until compelled to by the violence of her future husband. Others have explained this dramatic capture as a symbol of appropriation, a sign of the subjection and subordination of the wife. It might even be an attempt by the male to show his "adroitness and prowess." Rivers thinks that the mock fights at a wedding festival may be explained in some instances by a former existence of cross-cousin marriage. In southern India, for example, where there are ritual conflicts, and

a man married a person other than his cousin, he had to satisfy his cousin by a payment.

Leaving aside this study of survivals, the complications arising from a universal practice of wife-capture are many. Tribe A is stronger than tribe B; hence A captures its wives from B. Where do the men of B obtain their wives? They cannot get them from A, as the latter are stronger than B. Hence B must seek out a tribe weaker than themselves. C fulfills the conditions, but the men of C cannot depend either upon A or B for their wives; they must go elsewhere. There is no end to the process until the weakest tribe in the neighborhood finds its women captured, and they are left forever without wives. A, of course, might be stronger than B for a season and obtain all the women of B. The next year B becomes stronger than A, but, instead of capturing wives from A, they might well wish to rescue their captured sisters. There is, of course, no equilibrium of forces such as would be required from a universal custom of wife-capture. Chronic hostility is altogether too often assumed in the various theories regarding early society.

No one would be rash enough to state that wives were never captured. Many were; but it was not the usual method, nor was it universal among all early peoples. Captured women were often likely to be concubines and slaves rather than wives.

The older school of writers thought that wife-capture gave way in time to wife-purchase. Spencer considered that purchase was the usual substitute for violence as civilization progresses. Some form of purchase has always been the normal method of obtaining wives. It is usual to distinguish between exchange and the pur-

chase of mates. Compensation is perhaps a good term to include the two methods. The main idea underlying the marriage contract is to obtain an equivalent for the loss suffered by a family, or a larger group, of one of its women. There may be an economic factor here, or it may be purely a social one.

As will be shown later, the marriage within a family group of cross-cousins is very common, and here there is seldom a payment. There is reciprocity between members of the "joint family." Exchange or barter between members of two groups is also brought about, not by purchase, but by compensation. A man from group A takes a wife from group B, a man from B selects his bride from A: there is no loss on either side.

Marriage by service, so common in Hebrew tradition, is another method of compensation. The bridegroom works for his father-in-law for a certain time in order to win his wife. This may be a form of partial payment given to the father-in-law in return for his daughter, or it may be, on the other hand, a sort of probationary period as a test of the ability of the man to support a wife and a family.

Strict purchase where a definite payment is made for the wife, continued in form among many civilized peoples until quite recent times. A wife-market was once a common feature in several eastern European countries. There is a very wide range in this form of the marriage contract. The price, in general, is equivalent to the economic loss sustained by the family of the bride. The amount to be paid may be a definite sum or it may depend upon the strength, the age, and the condition of the woman, and her capacity to bear children. Where there is infant bethrothal, a series of payments may begin

at the time of the girl's birth. The purchase price may sometimes be looked upon as an investment of capital. Dividends are secured by the work done by the wife and the children born of the marriage. If there is no issue the investment is a poor one and the wife may be sent back to her father. Among the Kwakiutl of the Northwest Coast the bridegroom buys, in addition to his bride, the use of her crest and certain privileges of her clan for the benefit of his future children. According to the custom of interest-bearing gifts among these people, the father of the girl has to repay the purchase price to the husband as soon as children are born. For one child he must pay 200 per cent interest on the price paid to him by his son-in-law. For additional children the interest rate is larger. After these payments are made, the father is said to have redeemed his daughter and the marriage is annulled. If she is inclined to stay with her husband she does so of her own free will. If the husband desires a further claim on his wife, he makes a new payment to his father-in-law.[4]

In the early days of Israel, the bride-price appears to have been five shekels of silver. Boaz declares that he purchased Ruth for his bride. Howard gives a whole chapter of his book to wife-purchase as found in the olden days in England and the Teutonic countries, as shown by folk-laws and the old English "codes." The present marriage of the English Church, George Bernard Shaw points out, is "really only an honest attempt to make the best of a commercial contract of property and slavery by subjecting it to some religious restraint and elevating it by some touch of poetry."

There are often conditions where the bride-price must be returned or expensive presents are required from the

family of the woman. There is thus a tendency among some peoples for the bride-price to pass into the dowry.

There is always a danger in making general statements regard any custom, as each culture is a mosaic made up of many parts. The patterns are so varied that a single stone from one design, although seeming to resemble another from a second figure, may, when taken from its setting, appear an entirely different color. Methods of obtaining a wife may differ even among the same people. Lowie shows that a Crow Indian may acquire a wife in the following ways: by purchase, by inheriting his brother's widow—the levirate,—from an alliance or exchange with no payment, and by capturing an alien woman from the Dakotas.

Elopment is by no means uncommon among primitive peoples where, mutual attraction being present, there is an excessive bride-price, a monopoly of the women by the older men, or a romantic inclination of the man and woman. It has already been noted, however, that marriage in savage communities is usually a contract between groups, and it is in most cases far removed from anything approaching sentiment. There is no reason to suppose, however, that love does not sometimes figure. In cultures of the lowest grades there seems to be some inclination on the part of the man and woman, boy and girl, to take matters into their own hands, and self-betrothal is the result. When the family and clan become more important and property increases in extent, the kinship group is a necessary adjunct in arranging a union.

Marriage rites have a relatively unimportant part in the festive life of early society as compared with puberty ceremonies which usually hold first place in the social life. The form of the marriage rite depends upon the

character of the contract. Goods are exchanged and there is a bestowal of the bride, often with a ceremonial avoidance by the girl and her family. Eating out of the same vessel is perhaps the most common wedding rite. Among the Aztecs the clothing of the bride and that of the groom were tied together as a symbol of union. Sometimes prophylactic measures are taken to offset the spiritual evils resulting from contact with women. Another type of marriage ceremony is that where measures are taken to induce fecundity by magical means.

Very few general statements can be made about divorce. All degrees are found, from separation at the will of either husband or wife, through that allowed solely to the husband or to the wife, to the stage where no divorce is allowed. This last is usually based upon sacramental grounds. Barrenness and adultery are perhaps the two most common causes for dissolving the marriage bond. But there are certain factors which tend to prevent separations. The disinclination of the father to return the bride-price and the consequent need of advancing more property to obtain a new wife tend to limit the number of divorces. The presence of offspring is another factor making for permanent unions. Divorce is often common until children are born. The tendency towards permanent marriages is not based so much upon grounds of sentiment as upon those of economics.

Limitation of Choice of Mate

No peoples exist where marriage is not forbidden within certain limits. Prohibited degrees are always found, and all marriages between members of certain groups are considered incestuous. Nothing in primitive society

is perhaps more discountenanced than sexual impurity in the form of incest. Death is often the punishment for an infraction of the rules against marriage between those within the prohibited degrees. No tribes allow the union of parents and children, and brother-sister marriage is extremely uncommon. The latter was found among the Incas of Peru and in Hawaii, as well as among many of the later Pharaohs and the Ptolemies in Egypt. In all these cases the ruling family regarded the purity of their blood as being so far above that of any other people that no marriage outside the immediate kindred would satisfy these conditions; hence a brother was forced to marry his sister, as there was no one else with blood pure enough for him to wed.

There is a tale of the Chukchee of northeastern Siberia that illustrates the fear of incest. The people living in the country are exterminated by famine. Only two are left, a full-grown girl and her infant brother. She feeds him with pounded meat, and when he grows up she asks him to marry her. "Otherwise," she says, "we shall remain childless. We shall have no descendants and the earth will remain without people. It cannot be peopled otherwise. Who will see us? Who will say shame? Who will know about it in the world? We are all alone in the world." The brother says, "I do not know, I feel badly: it is forbidden." Then the sister begins to think. "How can I accomplish it? Our line of descent will break off with us." The young woman then goes to a distant place, builds a house, quite different from their own, and prepares everything belonging to it. She makes new clothing for herself. Then she returns and tells her brother that she has seen a new house on the shore. The brother goes in search of it. The sister is already there.

She has changed her clothes, the expression of her face, the tone of her voice, and he takes her for another woman. After some hesitation he takes her for his wife. Then there begins a life in two houses, the sister is here and there and plays with success her double part. Finally when she becomes pregnant, the brother ceases to think of his sister, and they live in the new place. One child is born, and then another. The family multiplies and becomes a people. From them all the people in the camps and villages are born.[5] This tale shows an interesting parallel with the story of Lot and his two daughters, as given in Genesis.

The variation in the prohibited degrees of marriage is great. Marriage may be customary between a certain type of cousins, but it may be forbidden between members of two groups bearing the same name but with little possibility of blood relationship. The essence of a mystical danger between members of the opposite sex may be felt where no blood connection can be traced. On the other hand, certain near relatives may be considered the proper choice. All this shows that sexual relationship goes hand in hand with social customs.

Exogamy, as we have seen, is the term employed to designate the rule that a man must select his wife from outside his own group. Endogamy, the opposite term, demands that a man must marry within his group. Exogamy and endogamy are not, however, mutually exclusive except within the same group. The Hindu castes are classic examples of endogamous units. European royalty, before the War at least, was mainly endogamous. McLennan, who is responsible for the terms exogamy and endogamy, was mistaken in thinking that

tribes were exogamous. He considered that the universal custom of obtaining wives by capture led to a definite rule which forbade marriage between members of the same tribe, and compelled the men to seek mates outside the tribal unit. Exogamy between tribes is practically never found. The tribe is usually endogamous, and certain groups within the tribe are strictly exogamous.

The groups within which marriage is forbidden under the rules of exogamy may be based upon locality, upon kinship, or upon a common name with no blood relationship. Prohibition of marriage between residents of the same community, regardless of kinship—local exogamy, as it is called—is comparatively rare.

Exogamy based upon a group of "selected kin" is the most common form of prohibition. The primitive family group is a bilateral affair. The family as a unit includes both the father and the mother. The duties of the children to both parents and of both parents to the children, the relationship terms, and the social etiquette demanded between members of a family group all go to prove that the bilateral family has a definite social status. After eliminating the very lowest ranks of early society, it may be said that most peoples who have arrived at a cultural level above that of the hunt are divided into two or more groups larger than the family. Sibs, clans, septs, moieties, are some of the terms given to these larger divisions. They are usually unilateral in character, in the sense that inheritance in one line and exogamy are general features of these classes.

In a society made up of two divisions or moities the men of group A must obtain their wives from group B,

and the children belong to A if the descent is patrilineal and to B if it is matrilineal. In the same way the men from group B select their wives from group A. This is the simplest example of the two-group system. It will be seen that the term kinship exogamy is not exact enough to apply to this type of marriage relation. It is a *selected* group of kindred, on either the mother's or the father's side. In this unit, larger than the family, there is a feeling of solidarity based upon some common tie. This may be a belief in a common ancestor or the possession of a common name. The actual blood relationship may be very remote or entirely lacking. The mystical potency of the name has already been considered. Among the Iroquois, for example, the members of the Wolf clan were not allowed to intermarry even if the man belonged to a different tribe from that of the woman. There was probably no trace of consanguinity between the two Wolf divisions, but a common name was a bar to intermarriage. Oliver Wendell Holmes spoke of exogamy as a providential trait, as it kept the Smiths from being Smithed to death and the Joneses from being Jonesed to death. Exogamy relating to a common name is found in China. There are only a few more than five hundred surnames in all the country, so that large numbers of people bear the same cognomen. Marriage between persons bearing the same name is forbidden. The present superstition of ill-luck following the union of persons bearing the same name may be the last trace of the same idea.

The Church recognized the *cognatio spiritualis* as a bar against marriage. The Emperor Justinian inaugurated a law forbidding marriage between a man and a

woman who had stood as godparents to the same child. The Church has added other prohibitions on account of this spiritual relationship.

Adoption, which is very common, brings with it the same prohibition regarding marriage and other social customs as consanguinity. The former often includes fictitious bonds that are as firm in the social structure as those based upon blood.

Exogamy as it exists among the tribes in central, eastern, and southern Australia is often a very complicated affair.[6] There is the simple two-class system; a man of moiety A of a special totemic group must marry into a special totemic group of moiety B. The descent in some tribes with this rule is matrilineal; among others it is patrilineal.

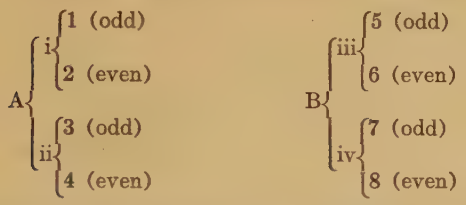
The second type found in Australia is a four-class system, where each moiety is subdivided into two classes:

$$A\begin{cases}1\\2\end{cases} \qquad\qquad B\begin{cases}3\\4\end{cases}$$

The children, assuming paternal descent, belong to the moiety of the father, but to the class other than the one to which he belongs. Disregarding the totemic complications, the following shows the rules of marriage and descent:

A 1 marries B 3 and the children are A 2,
A 2 " B 4 " " " " A 1,
B 3 " A 1 " " " " B 4,
B 4 " A 2 " " " " B 3.

The third type is still more complicated. Each of the two classes in each moiety is divided into two subclasses, making eight in all.



Assuming paternal descent, the children belong to the moiety of the father, but to the class differing from his. Up to this point the system is similar to the one previously described. For the purposes of clearness, if we think of the first sub-class in each class as "odd" and the second as "even," the father belonging to an "odd" sub-class would have children in an "even" sub-class. Thus, a man of moiety A, class i, sub-class 1 (odd), must marry a woman of moiety B, class iii, sub-class 5, and their children would belong to moiety A, class ii, sub-class 4 (even). The rules of descent for the men of one moiety marrying into the other run as follows:

A i 1 marries B iii 5 and the children are A ii 4,
A i 2 " B iii 6 " " " " A ii 3,
A ii 3 " B iv 7 " " " " A i 2,
A ii 4 " B iv 8 " " " " A i 1.*

* There is a difficulty which has seldom been pointed out and has never been explained, when the men of moiety B marry women of the opposite division. Using only the numbers of the sub-class, theoretically, the rules would result in the following:

5 marries 1 and the children are 8,
6 " 2 " " " " 7,
7 " 3 " " " " 6,
8 " 4 " " " " 5.

According to all accounts, however, the children of the four preceding unions are not respectively members of the sub-classes 8, 7, 6, and 5, but of the sub-classes 7, 8, 5, and 6. This inconsistency has never been accounted for.

There are still further complications, into which it is not necessary to go, when a man cannot marry any women of the proper class, but only one who is related to him in a special way. With the exception of the simple two-class system, the classes and sub-classes only function as the regulators of marriage.

Many explanations have been offered for the various rules limiting marriage in early society. Exogamy was certainly not due to a common custom of female infanticide, followed by wide-capture, or even to the exchange of women of one tribe with those of another. Lubbock, who always held promiscuity to be a stage in the development of marriage, believed that, as all the wives of one group were the common possession of all the men, a wife obtained outside the community belonged exclusively to the male who obtained her; hence the custom of exogamy came into practice. One theory traces the custom back to the animals. The head of the herd held all the females as his own property, and the young males necessarily had to find their mates outside the herd. The psychological-biological explanation for exogamy has many ramifications. Hobhouse and Westermarck believe that instinct prevents the marriage of near kin,—"Familiarity breeds contempt." The aversion towards marrying close relatives may extend to neighbors. Among some of the Eskimo a boy and girl brought up in the same household, even if they are no relation to each other, are not allowed to wed. There is not the least doubt that there is far less sexual curiosity between those brought up under the same roof. But if there is an innate aversion to the marriage of near kin, a rule would not be required to prevent it. In fact, in the frequent bisection of a group into exogamous

classes there is nothing, theoretically, to prevent a man from marrying his daughter provided the descent is reckoned in the female line, as the father will belong in a different class from that of his daughter. With male descent, a woman may marry her son, as far as the rules of exogamy are concerned. We have seen, however, that marriage between parents and children is never found.

Let us grant, therefore, a predisposition on the part of mankind against the marriage of father and daughter, and of mother and son. The extension of this instinctive aversion to the marriage of the children of two brothers might be allowed if we did not find that there seems in many parts of the world to be no desire to prohibit, but rather to approve, the marriage between cross-cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the rules regulating marriage are not based purely upon an innate horror of incest. Repugnance towards marriages between certain classes of relatives is great, but unions are often considered desirable between other relatives, often no more distantly related than those between whom marriage is regarded as incestuous. In other words, the extension of this aversion against marriage, after it leaves the realm of the closest relatives,—parents and children, and brothers and sisters,—is not based upon instinct but upon social rules.

The supposedly evil effects of incestuous marriages, several authors believe, were recognized by early man, and hence exogamy was established to prevent inbreeding. It is hardly to be supposed that the savage would recognize the disastrous results of too close marriages when the present scientific world is not yet able to determine with any exactness what these evils are, if any,

which follow inbreeding in the human species. Granted that primitive man thought that he had detected bad eugenics in such marriages, the rules dividing the community into two exogamous classes would not have prevented very close inbreeding on one side of the family, and marriage between cross-cousins is a very common form in many parts of the world.

Another class of explanations regarding the origin of exogamy may be called political. The intermarriages between the royal families in Europe fall into this category. Mohammed wrote, "Matrimonial alliances increase friendship more than aught else. Then will we give our daughters unto you and we will take your daughters to us, and we will dwell with you and we will become one people." This might well apply were exogamy always between distinct groups of peoples or tribes. Swanton, however, found among the Tlingit of the Northwest Coast, an informant who volunteered the information that his people, who were "Ravens," married into the Wolf phratry "to show respect," and he added that this was why they always obtained their assistance in conducting a funeral and invited them to a feast. Swanton writes, "Such a custom of exchanging courtesies having once arisen, it might in time have been thought the correct thing to do, and marriage within the band have been first regarded as a mark of low breeding, and afterwards prohibited." [7]

There is a magico-religious explanation for exogamy. The members of a group are regarded as having a mystical unity, based not alone upon actual consanguinity but upon fictitious ideas of kinship. Those belonging to clans of the same name, from different tribes, share this unity. Marriage is not allowed between members of a

group united in this way. Durkheim considers that the occult or magical virtues attributed by primitive peoples to blood, especially the menstrual blood of women, would prevent men from having intercourse with those of the same blood, hence exogamy. Finally, Freud has a characteristic theory for tabu and exogamy. He believes that society guards against the various complexes, especially those between father and daughter, and mother and son, by making rules of exogamy.

If the regulations against incest were the same in all savage communities, and incest was always interpreted in the same way, there would be little difficulty in arriving at some solution of the problem of the origin of exogamy. But aside from the universal absence of marriage between parents and children, few generalizations regarding the prohibited degrees of marriage are possible. There is even a confusion as to what constitutes incest among civilized peoples. Marriage with the deceased wife's sister, permissible only by dispensation in the Catholic Church, was made legal in Great Britain as late as 1907, and then only after the strongest opposition. The marriage with a deceased brother's widow is still prohibited in England. Marriages between uncles and nieces and between aunts and nephews are not prohibited in all Christian countries. The Eastern Church prohibits two brothers from marrying two sisters. There is often great inconsistency in the prohibited degrees of marriage in point of view of time and also in point of view of place. Even our state laws are not alike in this respect. Some marriages, such as those between first cousins, are regarded as incestuous in one state and may be entirely legal in another.

In savage society the groups within which marriage

is not allowed vary greatly. Although seldom the tribe, it may be the phratry or moiety, the clan, the village, housemates or some other social unit. It is impossible, therefore, to find any one reason why the conventions regarding incest are interpreted in so many different ways. Furthermore, laws against marriages between members of a group do not in every case prohibit sexual intercourse within the group at times of license.

Preferential Mating

Among the same people one way of selecting a wife usually takes precedence over all others. This has been aptly called "preferential mating." The levirate and sororate have already been described. The former, the marriage of the brother's widow, is a custom very widely distributed. Cousin-marriage is by no means uncommon. It is usually a union between the children of a brother and a sister, called cross-cousins. In other words, a man marries the daughter either of his mother's brother or of his father's sister. Parallel cousins are the children of two brothers or of two sisters, and marriage between cousins of this type is seldom found. In all these varieties of mating the unit is the enlarged family, the *Grossfamilie,* and as the marriage is between members of this group it may be said to be endogamous. There are many variations in cross-cousin marriage; it may be obligatory that first cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister, marry. It may, again, only be the preferred method. More often the union is between cousins more distantly related than the first degree.

Tylor has offered an explanation for the prevalence of cross-cousin marriage and the absence of union between

parallel cousins. If the community is divided into two exogamous divisions, the children of a brother and a sister would belong to different groups. With matrilineal descent the children of A and of his wife B would belong to group B. The progeny of B and of his wife A would belong to A. If the B's were brother and sister, their children could marry, as they belonged to different groups. Whereas if A marries a wife B, their children will belong to B; and if A's brother marries a wife also belonging to B group, their children are also B's. Hence children of brothers cannot marry, as they belong to the same group. This explanation has been questioned as it does not account for preference, so often found for first cousins over those more distantly related. Another difficulty is the fact that cross-cousin marriage is found among people not organized in a dual exogamous system. Rivers offers a theory to cover his Melanesian data. It is based upon the assumption that originally the old men retained for themselves all the women available for marriage, but that later they surrendered their own daughters for the wives of their nephews. The endogamous character of cross-cousin marriage makes an explanation possible similar to that for the levirate, that marriage within the enlarged family is preferred in order to keep the property from going outside the group of kindred. This would not, however, serve to explain why a certain type of cousin relationship is preferred over another. Here, as in so many other instances, there is a phenomenon differing in details in such a way as to preclude a single origin. Convergent development from diverse beginnings may have led to more or less similar results.

Mother-right and Father-right

In the discussion of marriage, little was said concerning rules of descent and the residence of the married pair. The one-sided character of the family has been touched upon in the consideration of exogamy. The terms "mother-right" and "father-right" are often used to designate several different social processes. Descent, inheritance of property, the law of succession of power, the holding of leadership, and residence are all features which ought to be carefully distinguished. Rivers, very aptly, limits the term descent to membership in the group. With a matrilineal system children belong to the same group as that of the mother. Inheritance, as here understood, has to do with property alone. In some cases, the descent may be in the female line and the inheritance of certain kinds of property, especially land, may follow in the same line, but other possessions may be handed down through the father. We can thus have partial patrilineal inheritance with matrilineal descent.

Succession to leadership and leadership itself should next be differentiated. The succession is often through the female line, but leadership is never held by a woman. In other words, a man may succeed to chieftainship through his mother's side. Nowhere, as far as is known, do we find a true matriarchate, where the woman occupies the office of ruler. There are a few examples, often used, of communities in which the women have a great part to play in the life of the people and enjoy unusual property rights. The Pueblo peoples will be cited later in this connection. Among the Iroquois the women arrange marriages, hold property, nominate candidates for office, and have the power of "recalling" an unworthy

chief; but no woman ever held the office of chief among these people or ever sat in the tribal council. Among the Khasi of India, the descent, inheritance, and succession are matrilineal. The chief is succeeded by his brother or by the son of his eldest sister. This latter type of authority is commonly called the avunculate, the head of the group being the mother's brothers. When a Khasi husband and wife have lived together for thirty or forty years, a second marriage rite is performed, after which no divorce is possible and no remarriage is allowed either the man or the woman after the death of one of them. After this ceremony, the husband becomes a member of his wife's clan, taking her clan name, and his bones are buried with hers in her family vault.

The question of descent and succession should be considered in more detail. It was formerly held that, with a postulated promiscuity, the earliest families necessarily reckoned descent through the mother, as fatherhood could not be determined. This supposition also carries with it the theory that all peoples reckoning descent through the father have passed through a previous stage of mother-right. Rivers goes a step further and believes that in Melanesia, at least, and possibly throughout the world, the change from mother-right to father-right "came about through a process in which an earlier matrilineal society suffered great modification at the hands of immigrant people imbued with patrilineal sentiments. These immigrants, being adopted as chiefs, were able to hand on their rank to their children, and thus to institute patrilineal succession."[8] In the same way, he thinks that matrilineal immigrants or conquerors may have imposed in some cases their social practices upon a

patrilineal people. Characteristically, Rivers must always explain a new idea or a modification of an old one as coming from the outside.

There is no definite order in the systems of reckoning descent. In general among the more highly developed tribes of North America the descent is counted through the mother, whereas patrilineal descent is found among the lowest of the tribes. Mother-right is not, therefore, necessarily a characteristic of the most primitive people, and, conversely, father-right is not always found among people whom we can place outside the class of savages.

The Greeks reckoned descent through the father, but the Ionian Greeks had the Lycians as neighbors and they traced descent through the mother. "Olympian society was the same. The consort of Zeus held a very different position from that of the wife in a patriarchal household; and on the Asiatic shore, at least, the gods themselves were traced back to a Mother, not to a Father, of them all."[9] Even in the list of Roman kings, in contrast to that of the Alban rulers, not one of them was immediately succeeded by his son on the throne, although several left sons. One of them was descended from a former king by his mother and three of them were succeeded by their sons-in-law, who were all foreigners or of foreign descent.[10] We note the prevalence of the fairy tale with the same story. Though the king has a son, it is the husband of the daughter who succeeds to the throne. A prince wanders into a strange land. After many vicissitudes he is successful in winning the hand of the king's daughter, and succeeds her father on the throne. The former king's son is journeying to another court and marrying a foreign princess. As

Frazer remarks, early kingship is merely an appendage of marriage with a woman of royal blood.

Not only do we find the foreign husband of the king's daughter the ruler; but there is another type of succession, where, again, the king's sons do not succeed their father, but it is the son of the king's sister who gains the throne. In both cases the succession is accomplished through the female side of the family of the king. In the Beowulf epic, Beowulf is the son of the sister of the king to whose court he was sent as a boy. It is clear that Beowulf is expected to succeed his mother's brother, his maternal uncle, on the throne, although the king has a son of his own. Ballads about Arthur repeat the same idea. Roland was the nephew of Charlemagne.[11] Marrying the queen on the death of the king was equivalent to a union with the king's daughter. Both customs show that the royal essence was thought to flow through the female line. In the many tales of intrigue where the king is murdered and the murderer marries the queen, one is often cited—Hamlet. The murdered king is succeeded, not by his son, though his son is of age to reign, but by the new husband of the queen. The people accept the new king, never looking upon him as a usurper, and the marriage arouses no indignation. The only fear of the new king is that of the discovery of the murder by which he has gained possession of the queen and the acquisition of the throne. Julius Cæsar adopted as his line of descent his sister's daughter's son, his grandnephew.[12]

The maternal system of succession and descent carries with it, however, an inherent weakness when property comes into being. The person who holds rank and possessions is usually the man, and it follows that where

there is a matrilineal system the man cannot hand down his property to his sons. There is in this case a tendency to change the descent to the male line. Several cases can be shown, however, where even with the accession of property the descent still remains on the female side of the family.

In a patrilineal society inheritance is easily explained. The law of primogeniture, the property falling to the eldest son, is a common phenomenon, especially in many of the nations of the Old World. The opposite of this, junior right, is a custom found rarely among civilized peoples, but it is not by any means unknown among primitive societies. This makes the youngest son the main heir. It is a common form of inheritance among many tribes in India. Rivers tells us that it is found among the Baganda, and is "due to the fact that as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the home of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents and support them as long as they live, and when they die he continues to live in the parental home, of which he becomes the owner." Junior right is thus commonly associated with the departure of the elder sons.

This custom is also called Borough English, as it was found until recently in many parts of England. The name is taken from a local word used in a trial in the time of Edward III. In Nottingham there were, during that reign, two tenures of land, one called Borough English and the other Borough French. In the Borough English all the houses descended to the youngest son, but in the Borough French they descended to the eldest son as in the common law. This custom was most prevalent in Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, in a ring of manors en-

circling ancient London. Blackstone wrote on this subject, and regards the custom as a relic of Saxon liberty retained by such persons as had neither forfeited it to the king nor been obliged to exchange it for the more honorable but burdensome tenure of knight-service.[13]

There finally remains to be considered the question of residence of the married pair. This plays a surprisingly important part in early societies. The wife may take up her residence, temporarily or permanently, with her husband's family; he may reside with his wife's parents; or they may both remove to a new dwelling. The place of residence may depend upon several factors, the most important of which is the line of descent. A tribe reckoning descent in the female line is generally found to be matrilocal, the husband living with his wife's family; although some may be patrilocal, the wife living with her husband's family. Tribes counting descent on the male side are always patrilocal. No patrilineal peoples are matrilocal, but matrilineal peoples may be patrilocal. One of the most striking examples of matrilocal residence is to be found among the Hopi and Zuni of the Southwest. The descent is on the mother's side, and the house is the property of the women of the family, the grandmother, mother, and married daughters. The husband is considered a sort of privileged boarder in the house of his wife and her relatives. The head of the family is not the husband but the wife's brothers. The husband occupies the first place, not in his wife's home, but in the house of his sisters, and it is here that he keeps his personal possessions. It should be noted that even in this type with the descent and residence both in the female line, the heads of the family are not women, but the brothers of the wife. The children live under the

guidance of their uncles rather than that of their father.

The rules of residence and descent often carry with them a custom found sporadically over a great part of the world,—the parent-in-law tabu. The husband is usually "cut" by his mother-in-law. There may be a complete breach and all intercourse between the husband and his mother-in-law may be denied, or it may be surrounded by other restrictions. Many have been the explanations offered for this custom. Tylor, Frazer, and Freud all suggest reasons for the practice. It is probable that there is more than one cause to account for its presence. In general it seems to be due to the fact that the husband is regarded as a stranger from another division of the tribe, an intruder, and is socially not recognized as a member of his wife's family when he comes into the house of his parents-in-law. It is far more uncommon to find the wife ostracized by the husband's relatives. It is not a question of hostility, but only a failure to recognize socially.

The inertia of customs and their failure to take root is by no means infrequent. This is illustrated in the Southwest. Here are found the Pueblo peoples with matrilocal residence where one might well expect to find parent-in-law tabu, and it is entirely absent, although among the Navajo, who live in the midst of the Pueblos, it is present. I once had a Navajo man and his wife cooking for me in camp. An altercation occurred between them, and the girl returned to her mother's hut. Deprived of her services, I endeavored to bring about a reconcilation. I was forced, first, to induce the girl's mother to retire, before I could bring the man into his wife's presence. Peace was made; the man left his mother-in-law's house, and I then informed the concealed woman that the coast

was clear and she could safely return to her hut, as her son-in-law had gone.

The tabu, usually limited to sight and conversation, may be extended to include not only the names of the ostracized persons but the words composing the name used in any other connection. Lowie cites the anecdote of a Kirgiz woman of Asia. She could not look into the face of her husband's father or elder kinsmen, and was forbidden to employ the usual words for lamb, wolf, water, and rushes, as they formed part of the names of her relatives by marriage. Accordingly, in telling her husband of a wolf carrying off a lamb through the rushes on the other side of the water, she was obliged to use circumlocution and say, "Look yonder, the howling one is carrying the bleating one's young through the rustling ones on the other side of the glistening one!"

The following passage from Genesis, xxix, describing the marriage of Jacob, illustrates several points which have been discussed here:

"And it came to pass, when Jacob saw Rachel the daughter of Laban his mother's brother . . . that Jacob went near . . . And Jacob kissed Rachel . . . And Jacob told Rachel that he was her father's brother (*sic*) . . . And it came to pass when Laban heard the tidings of Jacob his sister's son, that he ran to meet him, and embraced him . . . And Laban said to him, Surely thou art my bone and my flesh . . . And Laban had two daughters: the name of the elder was Leah, and the name of the younger was Rachel. Leah was tender eyed; but Rachel was beautiful and well favoured. And Jacob loved Rachel and said, I will serve thee seven years for Rachel thy younger daughter . . . And Jacob served seven years for Rachel . . . And Jacob said unto Laban, Give me my

wife, for my days are fulfilled, that I may go in unto her . . . And it came to pass in the evening, that he took Leah his daughter, and brought her to him; and he went in unto her . . . And it came to pass, that in the morning, behold it was Leah: and he said to Laban, What is this thou hast done unto me? Did not I serve with thee for Rachel? wherefore then has thou beguiled me? And Laban said, It must not be so done in our country, to give the younger before the first-born. Fulfill her week, and we will give thee this also for the service which thou shalt serve with me yet seven other years. And Jacob did so, and fulfilled her week: and he gave him Rachel his daughter to wife also." In Chapter xxx, after Rachel found that Leah was bearing children and none came to her, she said to Jacob, "Behold my maid Bilhah, go in unto her; and she shall bear upon my knees, that I may also have children by her. And she gave him Bilhah her handmaid to wife: and Jacob went in unto her. And Bilhah conceived, and bare Jacob a son. And Rachel said, God hath judged me, and hath also heard my voice, and hath given me a son."

In these passages are found the customs of polygyny, cross-cousin marriage (Jacob being the son of Laban's sister), and the sororate, the marriage of two sisters by the same man. The rule of seniority, not uncommon among primitive peoples, is also shown here, where the younger sister cannot marry before her elder sister is disposed of. The contract was by service, although a definite sum paid for the wife was the usual practice among the Hebrews. Matrilocal residence during the long term of service is also described. Barrenness is an excuse for another partner, and yet, sociologically, Rachel was the mother of the progeny from this connection.

Finally, even after Jacob had served twenty years, fourteen for the two daughters and six for the cattle, he was not free to depart with his wives and children, and give up his matrilocal residence, according to the account in Chapter xxxi.

In spite of the many curious ramifications of the marriage laws among primitive groups, it is clear that marriage was always present in early society. It is perhaps the only social institution that can be traced back directly to man's pre-human ancestors.

There is, then, no single succession with stages leading from promiscuity through polyandry and polygyny to monogamy at the end of the series. Some of the lowest savages known are monogamous, and there is reason to believe that this form of marriage was the original type. The precise regulations of legal wedlock with the rules limiting the choice of mate and defining the form of contract between husband and wife all point to the fundamental place marriage occupies in primitive life. It seems quite clear that marriage and its regulations among savage people are far more civil in character, that is, pertaining to society as a whole, than is the case with the rites at birth, adolescence, and death. The economic status of marriage comes out clearly, as a compact between groups quite as often as between individuals. There are radical changes in the life of the man or woman, according as the one or the other takes up his or her residence in a strange family and is considered often as an intruder. No correlation exists between stage of culture and rules of descent. Father-right and mother-right are both found among some of the highest and also among some of the lowest savages.

If we should study our own ideas and feelings about marriage and the family in order to see how they differ from those accompanying the "irrational practices" of the savage, we would suddenly realize that the primitive family, with its paternal care, maternal devotion, and filial affection are heirlooms of a Primate-past worn with equal pride by the domesticated European and the wild Fijian. All the possible varieties of kinship association and conjugal relationships have been tested, tried, and developed by savages.

CHAPTER V

ORGANIZATION, ASSOCIATION, AND CLASSES

Every society is divided into groups according to various principles and these groups are practically never mutually exclusive. The requisites for participation in the various forms of association differ. The term organization is used to designate the fabric of those groups which commonly form the fundamental structure of early society, starting with the family and ending in the tribe or larger unit. Secondly, there may be a stratification along the lines of age, sex, or other factors which form a group usually less fundamental than the preceding, and these have been called associations. Finally, a third division may be made, based primarily on rank, property, and occupation. These have been called classes. The interrelation of these three groups is often great, and the distinction is principally made for clearness in presentation. There is no hard and fast line to be drawn between any two of these three divisions.

Rivers separates the various types of association into those the entrance to which is voluntary or involuntary. The family and its enlarged group is primarily, of course, an involuntary association, although adoption into a family may be voluntary. The political and religious units are also, for the most part, involuntary. The secret society and various clubs are in the voluntary class. But, as a matter of fact, the secret society is often

based upon an age classification, and social compulsion rather than individual volition usually determines the composition of these societies.

Social Organization

The domestic unit, consisting of the father, mother, and the children, and the way it is made up, have already been treated. The first type of social organization larger than that of the family may be based upon locality alone. The enlargement of the domestic group, based upon ideas of kinship, real or fictitious, gives us a second type, the clan and other similar organizations. The political grouping is a combination of either the first or the second type; local units formed more or less definitely into a tribe, or those based upon ideas of kindred, related clans or phratries forming a tribe. Organizations based upon the family as a unit are not explainable by biology, as Spencer would have us believe, but are sociologically constituted. An adopted member of a family is not a biological member of the group, but for all sociological purposes he may be as important a personage as one born within its folds. It should be understood that, given the family with or without plurality of husbands or of wives, the larger combinations do not follow automatically, one always preceding another in a definite order.

Plato in his *Laws* writes, "For when a colony is of one race, and has the same language and the same laws, it possesses a kind of friendship as being a partaker in the same holy rites, and everything else of a similar kind. . . . But, on the other hand, a colony composed of all kinds of peoples flowing together to the same point, will perhaps be more willingly obedient to certain new laws; but

to conspire together, and like a pair of horses, to froth together, as the saying is, individually to the same point, is the work of a long time and very difficult."

Giddings calls attention to the fact that this observation of Plato clearly makes the distinction between the conditions found in primitive society and those in modern communities.[1] Those associations of one race, one language, one religion, and one set of customs, are contrasted with groups composed of all "kinds of peoples flowing together to the same point." In the first, one finds racial homogeneity, with a psychological and physical unity and usually a strong sense of solidarity and tribal consciousness. The other group is not homogeneous and the sense of unity may be very imperfectly developed.

Herodotus gives us the same idea of unity among a people in his famous passage where the Athenians reject the plan of Alexander and refuse to desert the Greek cause. They reply, "Greece is of one blood; and of one speech; and has dwelling-places of gods in common, and sacrifices to them; and habits of similar customs." [2]

These factors of "common descent, common religion, and common culture" are practically always present in savage society both in those groups based primarily upon territory as in modern states, and, as is far more common, in those with a social organization founded upon kinship, "pseudo-biological" units.

Local Groups

It is usually assumed that in the lowest grades of early society small groups of related families wandered about as hunters or fishermen. There was no central authority and no great cohesion within the group. The social or-

ganization lacked vigor, and there was little which could in any way be called political in these associations. A large amount of country was required for the needs of the different groups. There were no great crises and no great problems of adjustment to be settled. The Central Eskimo are a good example of this type of grouping.

As Goldenweiser has said, locality is perhaps the first factor utilized for social organization. Not only is it the only feature present in the earliest types of social grouping, but it is also found as the sole criterion in all modern communities. The home is not only a physical fact but a psychological one as well. However varied are the wanderings of the Eskimo or the Bushmen, they all have a dwelling place somewhere to which they periodically return. "Perpetual vagrancy is not a primitive phenomenon." [3] Neighborhood grouping is a term which might be used for this type. Co-operation and mutual helpfulness are always found among members of the local group.

The early village communities found in England, France, and northern Germany show some features similar to those of primitive organizations with geographical unity. There were common fields, common pastures, common meadows, and common waste lands. Originally an equal number of acres was allotted to each family; all stood on the same level. The distinction here, of course, is the presence of an overlord.[4]

Kinship Groups

Going back once more to the family as a nucleus, the second type of grouping is based upon ideas of kinship, This does not necessarily mean blood relationship, as adoption is common. Marriage brings about kinship,

and there is often a fictitious kind of relationship with certain animal ancestors. The family found in this type of organization is unilateral. Most modern families take their names from the father, and in this sense they are also unilateral. In Spanish countries, however, both the father's and the mother's names are used, and the family here can be called bilateral.

In the kinship grouping not only the name but prerogatives, property, and other things are commonly inherited in one line only, according to the side of the family on which the descent is reckoned. If a society is patrilineal, as we have seen, the children follow the father's line, and the mother is not always considered strictly a member of the social group. On the other hand, a father may be thought of as an outsider in a matrilineal unit.

The Clan

The group larger than the immediate family, reckoning descent either through the father or through the mother, is variously termed. The English, in general, and the French use the word clan. Lang and Frazer, however, prefer the word kin, and Rivers suggests sept. Lowie employs the term sib to designate this group. This is a convenient word, as it does not designate in which line the descent is rated. Most American anthropologists limit the term clan to groups counting descent through the mother, and apply the term gens to those with inheritance in the male line. The word clan will be used here to designate this group, irrespective of descent.

In its lowest terms, the clan is a group of individuals related to one another either through the mother or

through the father. Far distant cousins may be considered in the relationship, and are regarded as members of the group. Again, the relationship may be purely fictitious, but from the social point of view this is as real a bond as that made by common blood. Few question the antecedence of the family over the clan. Although found among the Australians, the clan organization is lacking among many of the lowest savages, as the northern Californian tribes, those in the interior of British Columbia, many in northeastern Asia, the Fuegians, the Andamanese, the Hottentots, and the Bushmen. But there is another question,—the priority of the clan and of the tribe. With the family as a nucleus, was there first a combination of related families into clans and thence an amalgamation of these into a tribe, or do we find first a heterogeneous community composed of several families, forming a more or less definite tribal unit that later split up into divisions such as clans? The latter is probably true. A tribe is seldom completely homogeneous. There is a potential force tending towards separation into groups, and there is no proof of the independent origin of these divisions.

Many civilized peoples seem to have passed through a period of clanship as did the Greeks and Romans. It still persists as a social group among the Gaels of Ireland, northern Scotland, and the Isle of Man, the modern representatives of the ancient Celtic-speaking peoples.

There is always a danger in precise terminology, as has often been shown, and this is clearly seen where any attempt is made to describe the typical clan. There are great variations in its functions; in the number of clans in a tribe, and the part they play in the tribal unit.

Even within a single continent there are the greatest differences in the clan pattern. Four and possibly five disconnected areas are found in North America, in each of which there are important differences in the functions of this sub-division of the tribe.

Membership in the clan is hereditary, either in the male or female line. Blood relationship is the bond connecting all members of the group, and its origin may or may not be traced back to an animal ancestor. The clan possesses a name, often, but by no means always, taken from an animal or a plant. Exogamy is a consistent feature of the clan. Adoption of an outsider is by no means uncommon. The social solidarity is often shown by rules of blood revenge. It sometimes owns copyrights to special names, rites, dances, and songs. The clan has practically nothing to do with occupations, but it may sometimes hold property, primarily in land. It often has a political function, as will be shown later. Typical markings on the body, the dress, or the possessions of clan-mates are frequently found. This brings us to the connection between the clan and the various phenomena of totemism.

Totemism is a convenient term which has been used to include a more or less definite set of practices of a social group centering around a supernatural relationship believed to exist between all members of the group on the one hand and a class of animals, plants, or material objects on the other. Goldenweiser thinks that the skeleton of totemism is always a social system and, in a majority of cases, it is the clan organization.[5] It should be added that sex totems and the individual totems or guardian spirits are varieties of totemism which are commonly distinct from the clan. Even totemism found primarily in

the clan organization is not a definite phenomenon, and no precise terminology is possible in defining it. It is composed of various "symptoms" which together make up a "totemic complex." The most consistent feature is exogamy between the totemic groups; in most cases, made up of clans. Other symptoms which may or may not be present are names taken from animals or plants, descent from the animal or an intimate connection with it, the tabus against killing or eating the animal, the representation of the totem in design, and the religious rites connected with these ideas centering around totemism. An intensive study of the distribution of these different phenomena shows that stress is laid sometimes upon one group of symptoms and sometimes upon another. In Central Australia one of the main features of totemism is the attempt to increase the food supply through magical practices; in Africa great importance is placed upon the tabu; in North America clan totemism seems to be closely connected with, if not a development of, the individual totem or guardian spirit. The representation of the totemic animal is also present here. In the Northwest Coast the extraordinary development of conventionalized art is closely bound up with totemic ideas. It is often difficult to know where to draw the line between totemic and non-totemic features. Among the Iroquois clan exogamy and animal and bird names are the only features present. Many modern families have surnames of animals, birds, and fish. Representations of these are often found on crests and other heraldic devices. Do these sometimes go back to a totemic beginning? It is impossible to say. Totemic tendencies are often found where it would be hazardous to state definitely that totemism is present. Marett writes that

there is "glorious confusion of the subject of the social organization prevailing in what is conveniently but loosely lumped together as totemic society." [6]

The Phratry or Moiety

The next larger division than the clan is the phratry. Moiety is a better term when the tribe is divided into two subdivisions. These groups are far less common than the clans. Marriage is usually forbidden between members of the same moiety. There is a feeling of brotherhood between the members of clans associated together into a phratry or moiety. The functions of this division are even more difficult to define than in the case of the clan. In America, at least, reciprocal service at funerals and rivalry between the two moieties are the most common features. In Melanesia there is often actual hostility between the two units. There is seldom any political function in this division.

The Omaha camping circle represents the spatial grouping of the social units, a living picture of the organization of the tribe. During a buffalo hunt the six clans (more properly called *gentes,* since descent was in the male line) were arranged in a semicircle to the south of an imaginary line running east and west, these six gentes forming a moiety. To the north of the line another group of six gentes, forming the second moiety, completed the circle.[7]

Rivers thinks that the dual organization, two moieties, represents the earliest type of social organization, and he bases one of his theories upon this assumption. The dual system is not by any means world-wide in distribution. It is almost entirely absent from Africa and is not found among many American and Asiatic tribes. Rivers

suggests that the moiety organization was the sole source of the classificatory system of relationship terms. As this method of nomenclature is found over a great part of the world, it must be inferred, if we accept this theory, that the two-class system was once far more widely distributed than at the present time. There is no good reason to think that this is true. His theory seems to fit the data from Australia and Melanesia, but it does not appear to hold for the rest of the world.

The Tribe and Confederacy

The tribal unit comes next. Here, again, the attempt at definition is difficult, as there are the greatest differences in the character of tribes. We find that a common dialect, common customs, a more or less definite territory, and some form of government, are usually present. Tribes may be made up of village communities with no divisions into clans or moieties; they may have clans and no moieties, or moieties and no clans; or they may have both moieties and clans. There can be neither a definite rule nor a single line of evolution regarding these features. Tribal consciousness may be strong or weak. Hunting communities require little organization, but in agricultural centers some form of tribal solidarity is important and is usually present.

There is often the sharpest demarcation between the "We" group and the "Others" group, with a tribal unity carrying with it the corollary of hatred towards all outsiders. Ethnocentrism is a common spirit in tribal communities. The bond of kinship connecting all members of a clan or of a moiety is lacking in the tribe, but the psychical bond connecting all the members may be very strong. This is a special feature of early society, and is

in contrast with the absence of this bond in modern states. Patriotism is almost the only common psychical feature felt in modern society, and everyone knows how difficult this was to arouse in this country, even in the crisis of the late War. Communal singing, mass meetings, "drives," were artificial means taken to bring it into action. "Block parties" have been devised by the social worker to stimulate a communal feeling of responsibility and increase the social solidarity of a group. College loyalty, and local loyalty,—which is so strongly developed in the Western States,—are both smaller manifestations of the same idea. Often our loyalties are far too provincial and aberrant.

The ethnocentrism of the savage may sometimes make itself felt within a group larger than the tribe, the confederacy. This is uncommon, however. A loose and informal alliance to meet some specific danger may bring about a union of tribes. It is very seldom that a definite compact is found among primitive peoples. The famous Iroquois Confederacy is one of the exceptions. This was one of the most amazing examples of a representative form of government ever evolved by uncivilized man. It has actually been in operation for over three centuries, beginning toward the last quarter of the sixteenth century and still existing to some slight extent. This will be referred to again.

Associations

Up to this point social groups based either upon the idea of kindred or on that of locality have been described. There are associations among primitive peoples, where the cleavage is along other lines. The different groups may be made upon the basis of sex, of age, or of some other

criteria. The segregation of the uninitiated from those who have passed through the elaborate ceremonials of initiation has already been discussed. This grouping may include the women as well as the boys who have not yet been taken formally into the tribal secrets. The men's-house is another institution which is more or less clearly associated with the ideas centering around initiation. But there is a very real danger in trying to separate into distinct compartments these various forms of association: age groups based upon initiation, the segregation of the sexes, the men's-house, and the secret society. They may be genetically related to each other among some people, or they may be different in function among others. In North America, for example, there is far less male segregation than is found in Australia and in Melanesia.

The term "secret society" has been used to designate an important type of organization, the functions of which vary greatly. All the members of a tribe may be eligible, or it may be limited to a small group of males. The tribe may be split up into a number of societies, rivals of each other. It may have important governmental functions, as in Melanesia, or it may be simply a social club. It may even degenerate into a band which spreads terror among the uninitiated and is not at all dissimilar to a secret organization present in our midst. There is, therefore, no necessary correlation between the various features usually found in associations grouped together for convenience and called secret societies. The element of secrecy itself may be lacking. Initiation into the society is a fairly constant feature, but initiation may also be a necessary prerequisite into certain occupations such as that of the priest or shaman. There is the same

danger in thinking of the secret society as composed of a definite series of phenomena as in the case with totemism. The symptoms of the secret society which will be treated here are those generally found in many of these organizations in all the different grades of culture, from those of the savage to those of civilized man.

In a secret there is something inherently interesting, and the fact of the social exclusion of those not possessing it. The psychology of secrecy has never been thoroughly worked out. Some of the ordeals which the novice has to undergo on his initiation into the tribe have already been mentioned. As entrance requirements into the secret society these rites of initiation, often consisting of fright and buffoonery, are a necessary part. There is, again, the wealth of symbolism, the sacred paraphernalia, and the elaborate regalia, seen for the first time by the noviciate. Parallels between the primitive and the modern secret society are found also in the various degrees in ascending order and in the separation of the sexes. Even in our own civilization the secret society is essentially a man's affair. The Grange, it is true, admits women, but the Odd Fellows have their Rebeccas and the Masons their Eastern Star. Both of these female organizations, however, are more or less distinct from those of the men. In all our co-educational institutions the fraternities hold first place in the social life of the college with the sororities following far behind.

The principle of fraternity and social solidarity, and the use of relationship terms, based upon purely fictitious ideas of kindred, still further strengthen the analogy between the primitive and the modern world of secrecy. Totemic features, tabus, and charms are additional features frequently present in both cases, with the

organization often taking its name from an animal or a bird, as the Elks, the Moose, the Buffaloes, the Eagles, and the Orioles. An important part of the ritual may center around this animal or bird, and the tooth or some other part or symbol of the animal may be a coveted possession. There is little doubt that the rise of the relatively modern secret society, more especially in America, is due to a "throwback" to earlier and more simple cultures. The drabness of some of our present conditions covets color, form, and symbolism. Honorific titles flatter, and elaborate raiment gratifies man's craving for something he cannot have in everyday life. One writer has noted that the secret society is a glorified "method of ego enhancement." [8] It was the man in primitive society, not the woman, who usually wore the gaudy headdresses and the elaborate costumes. The love of ritual and of mystery is world-wide in distribution, as regards both time and place. A secret is always something to conjure with. Someone has remarked that we find in modern fraternal organizations all the things we have ejected from our religion, and that our lodges are crowded while our churches are empty. The language and symbolism which is common to all mankind, to all creeds, and to all races, have been taken out of our religion and installed in the fraternal orders.[9] The phenomena of the modern secret society are worthy of more attention and should be studied from the point of view of psychology.

Rank and Social Classes

The third type of social stratification is based upon property and occupation, and less frequently upon birth. Rank is entirely absent in the lowest grades of early

society. We shall see later, in considering government, that the monarchial system found in Polynesia and in some parts of Africa are exceptional when taking the primitive world at large. Rank and the inheritance of power are rarely found together. Polynesia is the most striking exception to this rule. In the lower stages of culture there is, in general, no such thing as a division into social classes. The difference inherent in persons is one of prestige only, and this depends primarily on personal ability and character. The savage is judged by his companions in the same way as we judge our fellow men. There is a social estimate made of the hunter, the fighter, the member of the council, the craftsman, and even the shaman or medicine man. The criteria for a high grade of estimation paid to an individual differ according to the character of the community and the nature of the need felt for superior ability. A good hunter may be a poor fighter, a brave warrior may be a bad councillor. Every man in his own *milieu* is classed as good or bad.[10]

There are several factors which may lead to differentiation of the social status: war, the development of property, occupations, and religion. From war and the capture of prisoners who are not put to death may come the development of slavery. But this is by no means inevitable, as we find in aboriginal America adoption into the tribe is often employed in the case of prisoners of war. Frequent hostilities may give rise to a warrior class. The acquisition of wealth may result in a social distinction between the rich and the poor. But property in land, in houses, and in food is very often held in common by a clan or some other unit, and there is thus a check placed on the development of a class composed of

the rich. Individual possessions may be limited to a man's clothes and implements.

From the division of labor in occupations may arise class distinctions. India is, of course, the best example of the caste system. In northern India this came to be based upon occupations, with no contact allowed among the different castes. In southern India, where there were many aboriginal peoples, the racial question was the main basis of the division into castes. In Polynesia special honor was paid to the canoe-builder; in Africa the smiths and metal-workers formed an endogamous unit. On the Northwest Coast, whales could be captured only by the chiefs, and there was often some classification in fishing for codfish and salmon.

Religion may furnish a sort of centrifugal force that causes the development of a class of shamans or priests. But here again inheritance is only one of the factors in the choice of a medicine man. Personal ability, suggestibility, a neurotic nature, are more important criteria for the selection of a shaman.

In North America there are only two regions where there has been any development of definite rank and social classes,—among the Natchez of Mississippi and in the tribes of the Northwest Coast of British Columbia and southern Alaska. The peoples of this latter region are hunters and fishermen, with practically no development of agriculture, and yet we find a form of social organization, ideas of property, and social classes which are most commonly associated with peoples of a mode of life characterized by occupations higher than those of hunting and fishing.

The Haida and Tlingit tribes of this coast conform in general to a single pattern,—a division into clans and

these divided into two exogamic phratries.[11] Each clan and each phratry are commonly named after an animal, a bird, or some supernatural creature. The tribes are also divided into nobility, common people, and slaves. A certain number of families are recognized as superior. Each of these has a tradition, quite distinct from the general clan legend and, by reason of it, each group has special privileges and the right to the use of certain crests. This tradition descends according to the custom of the tribe, usually in the maternal line, and only one man in each family can impersonate his ancestor, who is responsible for the legend. These individuals form the nobility. The number is fixed and the families are not all equal in rank. They are graded in the same manner as their forefathers were supposed to have been ranked, and at all the festivals a precedence is strictly maintained. The legend states that the order of seating was given by a god at the festival of the tribes, when all the animals could speak. Members of the clan, with no special supernatural ancestors, formed the common people, and the slaves were usually captives in war or were purchased from neighboring tribes. They were not considered members of any clan.

The whole basis underlying society in the Northwest Coast is rank, the right to use certain crests, usually an animal, bird, or some supernatural creature. These insignia are carved upon totem poles and on boxes, painted on the houses and on canoes, and sometimes tattooed upon the face.

The most interesting feature of the social system of these peoples is the *potlatch*. This word has the meaning "giving" or "a gift." The feasts at which goods are exchanged come in winter. It is a system of interest-

bearing investment and property, a regulated giving of presents, with the knowledge that gifts equivalent in value will be returned with interest at the end of a certain length of time. The *potlatch* may occur when a child is given a name, at initiation, when the son takes his father's seat in the council, at marriage, on the erection of a house, or before a war expedition.

The gifts are usually blankets, now a cheap white woolen affair. All values are measured in terms of this commodity. At a feast a certain number of blankets are distributed to those present. Everyone to whom they are offered is obliged to accept. The recipients are bound to repay these gifts at the end of a definite time, with interest.

A boy receives a name when he is born, another when he is a year old, and a third when he has arrived at the age of ten or twelve. At this time he borrows blankets from other members of his family or clan. He must repay these within a year with 100 per cent interest. He distributes these blankets which he has had loaned to him, giving them to every member of the tribe, with a few more to the chief. Everyone to whom he has given the blankets makes a point of paying him within a month, and he receives 300 per cent interest on his gift; so that if he borrows one hundred at 100 per cent interest he has gained one hundred blankets in the transaction. At the end of the year he repays his debts at a festival in which he takes part for the first time. His father gives up his seat or place in the council which he has received in trust from his wife, to his son, to whom it rightfully belongs.

It is thus a method of acquiring rank and prestige. The person who distributes the greatest number of blankets

and gives the most sumptuous feast is held in the highest favor. If the recipient cannot return the compliment by giving a greater feast and repay the blankets with interest, he loses prestige in the eyes of the community. One can get the better of a rival by presenting him with more blankets than he can possibly return with interest, and the rival is vanquished. The system reminds one strongly of the attempts in modern society to gain prestige by the splendor of the entertainment.

Rivalry between chiefs and clans may show itself in the destruction of property. A chief will burn many blankets or a canoe in honor of a rival. If the latter cannot destroy an equivalent amount of property, his name is "broken" and his influence is diminished. If a man starts out to battle he will give away all his property, knowing well that, even if he does not return, his family will receive full value with interest from these gifts. It is a method of thrift and insurance, as well as a means of increasing one's standing in the tribe. This unique feature of acquiring rank has been described at length in order to show the presence of a kind of sophistication regarding property and social position, even among non-agricultural people.

Savage society seldom becomes stereotyped. The "glorious confusion" on the social side of primitive man simply shows his ability at adaptation to the varied conditions as he meets them. He has more rites, more customs, more secret societies, more religions, greater intensity of emotional states, greater feelings of blood and social solidarity, and perhaps more confidence in the future than has civilized man. On the other hand, the savage has fewer inventions and less property, fewer

wars and fewer diseases, fewer satisfactions and fewer wants. The savage is poorer in thoughts, but, at the same time, he is poorer in worries. We shall see in the next chapter that he is poorer in the complicated machinery of government and in government officials.

CHAPTER VI

GOVERNMENT, LAW, AND ETHICS

In treating the social organization of early society a distinction was made in the character of social groups, between those with a loose and those with a firm type of structure. At the same time a contrast was indicated between societies composed of "all kinds of peoples flowing together" and those made up of one people, with the same language, the same customs, and the same religion. Where these common ties are augmented by the bonds of kinship there is the firmest possible type of association,—physically, socially, and mentally homogeneous. Government, also, is bound to vary within wide extremes. Maine was the first to make clear the difference in governmental functions in societies based upon kinship and in those based upon territory. Even in a community where blood relationship has a prominent place, a form of control independent of any kinship bonds may be found.

The most common type of early government is a democracy, with the power held by the elders or by a council selected by the people. One-man rule is almost entirely absent in the most primitive communities. Morgan goes so far as to state that monarchy is incompatible with the clan grouping and that it is only to be associated with those people having phonetic writing and literary records. This is much too sweeping a state-

ment, as monarchy is found among some uncivilized peoples. There is thus no definite and constant correlation between scale of culture and form of government.

There is the greatest contrast in this respect between aboriginal North America and Africa. In the former, with one or two prominent exceptions, the form of government is essentially democratic, whereas in Africa the trend is toward a monarchy. In Polynesia the government is distinctly despotic in form, with almost a feudal state built up around the rulers. Those in authority belong to a class so sacred and so well protected by tabu from all contact with the common people that it was impractical for them to lead war parties. We thus find in parts of New Guinea and in Polynesia a dual chieftainship, the highest chiefs, completely isolated from the common life of the people, and the war chiefs, whose duties consisted of leadership in war and carrying out the orders of those belonging to the other class of rulers. All this illustrates a point which has been made before, that patterns of culture often differ among peoples in the same general stage of development, and these patterns may or may not be conterminous with great continental areas.

The three departments of government—the legislative, the executive, and the judicial—are usually so bound together that it is often impossible to separate them. A tribal council may make and execute laws, as well as punish the violators of these laws. As Lowie remarks, "The legislative function in most primitive communities seems strangely curtailed when compared with that exercised in the more complex civilizations. All the exigencies of normal social intercourse are covered by customary law, and the business of such governmental machinery as

exists is rather to exact obedience to traditional usage than to create new precedents." This statement would not hold as true for Africa or Oceania as for other parts of the world.

The Iroquois Confederacy

The development of government along strictly democratic lines is best seen in the famous Confederation of the Iroquois.[1] This was really a League of Nations, all members, however, speaking different dialects of the same language. The organization of the League was perhaps the best example of a representative form of democratic government ever evolved by primitive man. The Iroquois first became known to the white man in 1534. About 1675 their dominion reached over the greater parts of the present states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and portions of Canada, north of Lake Ontario. They formed an island in the midst of territory occupied by their enemies, the Algonkin peoples.

The Iroquois tribes were formerly independent bodies, but much of this unity was lost in the formation of the League. The tribal council was composed of a certain number of chiefs elected by the various clans. Each tribe was divided into two moieties which were at one time exogamous. These were in general ceremonial units, having to do with funerals. Each moiety was subdivided into four or more clans, with maternal descent, the property always remaining in the clan, and there were reciprocal obligations involving blood revenge. Each clan was named after an animal or bird, but there was no tabu attached to killing or eating these animals, and little or no reverence paid to them.

Each clan had a set of names to be used by its mem-

bers, and each had the right to adopt strangers. There was clan exogamy, and this was extended to include clans of a similar name in other tribes. Members of the Seneca-Wolf clan could not marry those from the Onondaga-Wolf clan. Each clan had a common burial place. Each of these groups was subdivided into a number of maternal families, the smallest unit of the tribe. Every family was presided over by a matron, and included all her male and female relatives. The family had certain ceremonial functions and hereditary prerogatives, and the family of a chief had the right to nominate his successor. Both men and women had a voice in all proceedings. We can thus think of an Iroquois tribe as a series of concentric circles,—the tribe, the two moieties, the four or more clans, and the two or more maternal families composing the clan. A larger circle, containing all the five and, later, six tribes composed the Confederacy. A common heritage, common customs, common religion, and contiguous territory prepared the ground for federation.

The League was not in existence when Cartier met the Iroquois in 1534, but it was in full operation on the arrival of Champlain in 1603. It was probably founded not earlier than 1570. Tradition states that a council of wise men and chiefs of the five tribes met on the north shore of Onondaga Lake near the present site of Syracuse. The main force behind the alliance was the common danger from the encircling Algonkin tribes. The origin of the idea is ascribed to a traditionary person, the Hiawatha of Longfellow, who was present, and disappeared in a white canoe after the plan was formulated. He was assisted by a wise man of the Onondagas. There seems little doubt that the credit for this marvellous

piece of legislation belongs to one man, whoever he may have been, a genius for political organization.

The original five tribes,—the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas,—occupied contiguous territory, spoke mutually intelligible dialects of the same language, and had certain clans common in all the tribes. Here at once was a stratification cross-cutting the tribal units. The Bear clan of one tribe affiliated, psychologically at least, with the Bear clan of another tribe. Early in the eighteenth century the Tuscaroras, who originally had lived far to the south, were adopted as the sixth member of the Federation, which became known as the "Six Nations."

The general features of the League can only be outlined. Each tribe was to remain independent in all matters of local concern. Fifty chieftainships were created and named in perpetuity in certain clans of the five tribes. It should be pointed out that the word chief in this case connoted no individual power as the head of any one group. Representative is a far better term for these chiefs or sachems who formed the Council of the Federation. An unanimous vote in the Council was necessary, and each tribe voted as a unit, yes or no. It was necessary, therefore, first for the chiefs of the tribe to agree before their single vote could be cast, and then all the Council had to agree before a motion could be passed. In any organization where measures have to be passed unanimously, the majority usually coerce the minority, and it is really majority rule: an important step in the development of government and only occurring in a stabilized society.

The official functions of the fifty chiefs were not numerous. Among these was the right to decide on peace

or war and power over all inter-tribal agreements and alliances with other tribes. When a chief died the matron of the family to which he belonged determined upon his successor. This was usually a maternal nephew or younger brother, almost never a son. She called a meeting of the family for ratification of her choice. To this the other members of the same clan were admitted. Then she chose a delegate to communicate her choice to the chiefs of brother clans (the moiety), who could veto or approve. This delegate in turn called upon the chiefs of the cousin clans (the other moiety). After approval by them, the name of the candidate was presented to the Council of the Chiefs, and they could approve or reject. If agreement was reached, the candidate was raised to chieftainship in a great inter-tribal festival.

The position of chief was practically hereditary in the family, and he held office for life or during good behavior. He could be "recalled" for conduct unbecoming a chieftain,—neglect of duty, evil temper, intemperance, or a friendly attitude towards the enemy Sioux or Algonkin. This "recall" might be initiated by the matron. Two warnings were required and, finally, if the chief's conduct still remained unsatisfactory, she was accompanied on the third visit by another chief, who handed her the "deer horns," the symbol of power of the deposed chieftain. This action had finally to be ratified by the Council. The power of the matron is seen throughout these proceedings. The Council had also the power to depose without any move being made by the matron or by the clan. Any individual had the right to present matters for the consideration of the Council.

It can be seen that this Council of Chiefs rested

ostensibly on the tribes, but in reality on a single family in a single clan. All members of the same clan, whether Mohawks, Oneidas, etc., were theoretically brothers and sisters, and they recognized each other as such. Three of the clans, the Wolf, Bear, and Turtle, were common to all five members of the Confederation.

In some of the tribes one of the chiefs was recognized as its head during the time when the tribal Council was not in session, but the duties and powers of the office were not great. Under the Confederacy a distinct need for an executive officer was felt, especially in time of war, and this office was created in dual form, the occupants of which were called the two "great war soldiers." They were chosen in the same way as the chiefs, and assigned to two distinct clans of the Seneca, as they held the position of greatest danger. The late appearance of a central authority is worthy of note in the development of the governmental organization of the Iroquois.

In this rapid survey of a successful confederation we can note several features of interest:

1. The desire for peace overcame tribal jealousies;
2. The Council was a servant of the people;
3. It was virtually elected by universal suffrage;
4. Merit determined its membership to a great extent;
5. The power of the recall was present;
6. The initiative and referendum also had a part.

In other words, we find a representative form of democratic government, a commonwealth of nations.

Before leaving this account of the League of the Iroquois, mention should be made of the part it played in the early history of the country. "It was an evil hour for Canada," writes Parkman, "when, on the twenty-

eighth of May, 1609, Samuel de Champlain . . . departed from the hamlet of Quebec to follow a war-party of Algonquins against their hated enemy, the Iroquois." The French and Algonkins were at first victorious and their enemy fled in confusion. "The Iroquois recovered from their terrors, but never forgave the injury." Thenceforth, as surely as the Algonkins sided with the French, the greater part of the Iroquois fought for the English throughout the border warfare, and the failure of the French to hold Canada is due—in part, at least—to the aid rendered the British by the Iroquois League. At the beginning of the American Revolution, the Confederation declared neutrality, and the separate tribes were left free to take sides. The Oneidas and some of the Tuscaroras embraced the American cause. The Mohawks established themselves in Canada, and the Cayugas followed, taking with them valuable wampum. The latter tribe further alienated the regard of the Iroquois in the United States by taking the British side in the War of 1812. The League had been more or less formally disbanded about 1800, but the skeleton of the organization still persists. The Cayugas, long ostracized by the Iroquois living in the United States, and not granted representation in the Council of Chiefs, were allowed, after many persistent efforts and the payment of wampum, to take their former seats in the council. This happened as late as 1923. The present head of the Cayugas has a document dated 1784, a treaty of alliance with George III, made with the Six Nations of the Iroquois in Canada, and granting them independence and the protection of the British Government. During the late World War the Cayugas declared themselves allies of the British. The independence of

the Canadian Iroquois has been sadly interfered with of late, and the Cayuga chief, by virtue of the treaty of 1784, attempted to present their grievances to Geneva in August, 1923, but the petition was not accepted. Thus we find a League of Nations of the sixteenth century appealing to another League of Nations of the twentieth century.

Social Organization of the Incas

As a contrast to this type of democratic government of the Iroquois, let us consider quite another form, that of the Incas of Peru.[2] Throughout the Andean highlands there were innumerable tribes consisting of one or more patrilineal families. In most cases the jurisdiction of a tribe was conterminous with the valley in which it was situated. The amount of arable land was greatly limited by nature, and each year the tribal leaders assigned to heads of families parcels of land. The great work of the Incas was that of leaguing together scores of these tribes, formerly independent of one another, and forcing them to submit to one supreme authority, the Inca.

To appreciate just how much credit should be given to these ancient Peruvians for this consolidation, one should bear in mind the fact that, when their career began, the Incas themselves were a tribe in no wise different from scores of others. Gradually they formed a confederation of tribes, and finally established one empire. As their power grew, they changed gradually from an humble tribe to a ruling one; and finally into a dynasty. In the last years of the empire, the ruler, called the Inca, was a supreme lord, and his government

investigated and controlled every activity of every individual in all the dominion.

All were classified on the basis of the amount of work he or she could do for the common welfare. Each individual began life as a *mosoc caparic*—"babe in arms." Later he or she became a *saya huamrac*—"able to stand"; then a fledgling, "under six." From six to eight he was a "bread receiver"; from eight to sixteen, "one who needs light work"; from sixteen to twenty, a "cocoa-picker"; from twenty to twenty-five, "almost a man"; from twenty-five to fifty, a *puric*—"able bodied,"—and thus the head of a family and a payer of tribute; from fifty to sixty, he was a "half old man"; and, finally, from sixty on, "an old man asleep."

This paternal supervision of everything brought about the so-called *camayoc* system. There was an official in charge of ten families, and others in charge respectively of fifty, one hundred, and one thousand, and an overseer of them all. The general jurisdiction of these officers included the duty of seeing that no one suffered want; that everyone, except the exempted classes, worked; and that tribute, often in the form of labor, was paid.

The functions of this involved officialdom were manifold. Their activities and duties had to do with every detail of private and social life. There were officials for pathways, bridges, taverns, irrigation canals, the herds of llamas and alpacas, and the *quipus,* as well as priests for the complicated ritual of the worship of the sun.

As time went on, the social sophistication of the Incas increased, and we find an hereditary aristocracy. The custom of incestuous marriage was the product of an ever-increasing class-consciousness on the part of the Incas themselves. As in Egypt, the blood of the ruling

class was too precious to be mixed with that of a lower grade, and brother-sister marriage was the result. We see here a sort of monarchical socialism. The state provided the food, drink, and shelter, the amusements, and the religion. There are several features here which remind one of those found in a famous contemporary experiment in government.

Africa and the Kabyle Democracy

Many other examples of highly centralized authority might be cited, from Africa and Oceania. The African despots often ruled over large areas, but the course of political history here was "fluctuating and capricious." A mighty ruler today might lose his position by some great personality coming to the front and gaining the seat of power. Sometimes the African chief was simply the rain-maker, and had no governmental functions whatsoever. The Zulu headman had great secular power and was a mighty ruler in every respect. But there are democratic institutions found even in Africa. The Kabyles, a Berber people of the mountains of the Mediterranean littoral, have a simple and democratic form of government.[3] Wherever the Berbers have escaped foreign domination, they have organized into small republics, grouped into federations with the village as the unit. Each community makes its own laws and executes them by means of an assembly of citizens. The decisions of this council are sovereign, and are restrained only by tradition. Every citizen has a voice in the assembly. This body appoints a police, arrests, maintains order, and also has the mosque under its jurisdiction. All except the secretary of the council serve without remuneration and sometimes even at great expense.

There is an interesting institution that plays a major but unofficial part in the community. In fact, the whole fabric of Kabyle society is built around the *çofs*. There are always two, based upon locality or upon interests, and they are in every case deadly rivals. The leaders of the *çofs* are the most powerful individuals in the community. Like the modern political boss, he holds no office and his position has no legal background. Disloyalty to the *çof* is considered the basest of all crimes, although bribes are often offered by one *çof* to members of the other. There is constant friction between the two. They are not at all unlike our two major political parties, although definite principles are not promulgated by either side.

Government in many parts of Polynesia has another pattern. Here pedigrees and genealogies play a very great part, and we find a strong development of nobles, commoners, and slaves. But even here the greatest patricians are not always at the head of the government. One writer likens the Maori and Samoan system "to a state of barons granting precedence to the ruler of their choice but without allegiance and reserving to themselves the ultimate voice in matters of government." In Hawaii and many of the other islands there was "monarchial despotism."

Enough has been given to show the wide range in the forms of government. Risking a general statement, it may be said that the council of elders was the commonest form of authority in primitive society. Deliberation and discussion were the most important features of this council. In the New World, with a few exceptions, the council was the government. The same was true in Australia, where the old men ruled—a gerontocracy.

The absence of a central authority is noteworthy in both these regions.

The different forms of government thus range all the way from absolute authority vested in one man, through those where leadership is held by one or two persons with powers limited by a council, to communities ruled by a council alone with no central authority, and, finally, to the most informal kind of body made up of the elders or of persons of wealth and position. Even where an hereditary class is found, there is often lacking all functions usually associated with chieftainship. This class may be leaders in war alone, or in religion, or they may have purely social functions such as the giving of feasts.

The layman usually thinks of the savage as ruled by chiefs. Fallacious ideas of royalty, based upon European standards, crept into the writings of the first whites to describe primitive peoples. Emperors, kings and queens, princes and princesses, must rule. Democratic government and an elected council were incomprehensible to the European mind of that time. This incorrect interpretation of the legal forms among the American Indians led to great confusion. The early colonists assumed that every village and tribe had a chief with a prerogative enabling him to sign away various rights, and to negotiate the sale of land. These powers were not held by individuals, and land held in common by a tribe or a clan could not legally be sold. As Rivers notes, European contact in Melanesia and in Africa actually developed a form of government with definite authority unknown before.

Since economic homogeneity, found in many primitive communities, implies social homogeneity and, to some

extent, a relative lack of development of individual initiative, and since social homogeneity implies equality of ability, the implication of equality of ability carries with it the principle of democracy. This may explain the presence of democratic institutions among the lower grades of savage life.

Development of Leadership

It has already been stated that man's development as a social being is consequent to and correlated with the superior brain and superior intelligence of proto-man. The insignificance of his physical equipment for offensive and defensive combat in relation to the other animals has also been pointed out. There is thus an impossibility of his dominance over animals by physical force. This applies quite as well to dominance over his fellow men. The leaders in early society are such by nature of resourcefulness, initiative, and superior intelligence. We have found this superior intelligence, and hence authority, attributed to the elders by virtue of age and experience. Among a council of the old men there is always dominating authority conceded to the most able and resourceful, the most intelligent, who is often the most acquisitive and hence the most wealthy.

The theory of the "man-horde," and the argument that it is led by the solitary male who has the greatest brute force cannot hold. The physical insignificance of the individual prevents this. There is also an easy negation of individual physical prowess by co-operative action. This brings into contrast once more the difference between animal and human societies. Among animals the most capable physically are usually the ones which exert their will upon others of their kind;

among men, the most capable mentally are the leaders. The tendency to lead is present in both, but the criteria of selection differ.

The rudiments of authority are to be found in the family. In a patrilineal group the domination of the father is a simple matter, but in a matrilineal family authority is far more complicated. It may be shared equally between the father and the mother's brothers, or be limited to the maternal side of the family to the complete exclusion of the father. The cohesion of the family group, however it is made up, is far greater than that seen in modern society. In some countries, notably in France, the importance of the family council still persists. In groups larger than the family, leadership is at first based only upon an informal respect paid to the elders or to especially gifted individuals. If a crisis appears, someone steps forward with a suggestion. If this idea, on being carried out, results in success, prestige comes to the instigator. A precedent is established of listening to this man. The importance of the crisis in the development of a leader is thus shown to be great in this respect. The late War produced several striking examples of this. The power of personality ought not to be overlooked in early society. We speak today of natural-born leaders. In Polynesia personality was another name for *mana,* a force emanating from certain individuals. This power was sometimes nothing more than a compelling personality. In many cases, of course, this influence was inherent in the office of priest or ruler.

There are different criteria used in the selection of a leader. When the life of a community centers around some occupation, prestige depends upon aptitude, and we may have guilds. In a hunting society, the best

hunter may be at the head. In a tribe often at war, the best warrior has great prestige in the decisions of the council. If this leader is again successful, his prestige is heightened and he may be started on the road to a properly elected chief. The council is usually present as a check upon those actions of the leader which do not meet with the approval of the elders. The submission of the common lot to the will of the superior is always inherent in society. Obedience may become a habit. The religious factor often comes in to play a part. The leader may have a strong supernatural sanction behind his actions, which further strengthens his hold upon the populace. All peoples are prone to adore their heroes. This adoration may pass into hero-worship after death.

Among the northern Maidu, one of the lowest peoples in North America, the head of the simple village was chosen by the aid of a shaman and he could be deposed by the same means. His functions were mainly advisory, but a man with ability and wealth could make the office one of great power.[4] The influence of a chief was often heightened by wealth and monopoly in some trade.

We thus see a primary dominance of the superior individual through intelligence often aided by both material and immaterial factors. He may have invented new forms of implements or more useful ways of utilizing the products of nature, and the accumulation of a surplus food supply. This brings him wealth, an extra store of food gives him leisure which facilitates speculation and experimentation with natural phenomena. A superior comprehension of the working of nature elevates the intelligent individual from an amateur practitioner to a scientist, from a trafficker in the supernatural, to a

priest, a god-king. So the immaterial and material success feed upon one another to their mutual aggrandizement.

The development of individual dominance through warlike prowess is usually found only among more highly developed peoples. The despot is unknown in the most crude societies. The implications of organized warfare are an advanced technology and a development of effective weapons. The motives behind organized warfare are advanced notions of property both real and personal. A relatively high social organization and a group spirit making possible military co-operation are usually present, together with an advanced economic status. This is correlated with a relative freedom of the warrior class from the necessity of seeking food and with the subjugation of a servile laboring class whose main duty is the cultivation of the fields. This should not cause us to overlook the efficacy of the magico-religious measures employed against enemies which may be far superior to ineffectual physical means.

In this attempt to trace some aspects of the evolution of the leader and chief, Rivers' theory should be noted. He thinks that the strong basis of group sentiment in the government of early societies changes to that of individual authority by the advent of a race of rulers, "enterprising strangers," imposing their ideas upon a community and becoming chiefs. He bases this opinion upon the fact that chiefs usually have customs peculiar to themselves, frequently with a similarity between the functions of chiefs in different societies widely separated. He points out that in Oceania there is often a difference in the physical appearance between chiefs and commoners, "the former approaching more nearly the Caucasian

type." There is no doubt that one cause of this differentiation was the inbreeding which went on in the higher ruling class, causing an accentuation of certain physical characteristics. He does not explain how this chief-race came itself to develop ideas of leadership. These highly endowed immigrants, not only distributed ideas of ruling but many of the other features which we have been discussing. This author and others of his school deny the possibility of a people *in situ*, as it were, initiating new customs.[5] Changes must always be introduced by an intruding people.

Law

Primitive jurisprudence, just as modern law, is not force, nor is it morality. It is simply custom codified by public opinion. Law has been defined as "any social rule to the infringement of which punishment is by usage attached." [6] Unwritten codes are often as standardized and always as binding as rules enacted by some law-giving body. One part of our present jurisprudence is nothing more than custom and tradition, often sanctioned by religion, made definite and perfected by record. Our statutory law, however,—in so far as it is the expression of the will of a ruler or of some other governing body—is another thing. This type is far less well developed in the legal system of the savage. Several writers have made clear the fact that in primitive jurisprudence there is a far fuller development of criminal law than of civil law. "The regulation of personal relations by the status of the individuals, the administration and inheritance of property within the family according to customary law, and the absence of contracts between individuals adequately accounts for the diminutive part

played by civil jurisprudence as compared with penal law." [7]

There is often a complete absence of a central authority constantly on watch to detect criminals and other wrong-doers. The frequent absence of any definite body whose duty it is to administer justice and to mete out punishment should be noted. A "spontaneous character" is found in the administration of justice. The power that enforces law is often an impersonal one. The savage is taught from boyhood that a departure from custom is always accompanied by some evil befalling the culprit. Transgressions against the gods are summarily dealt with by the gods themselves. Many phases of primitive law are based upon a desire to restore a peace with the gods. Public opinion, the desire to stand well in the community, and the fear of ridicule, are all factors tending to a rigid enforcement of law. Social ostracism is also a strong deterrent of crime.

The beginnings of law are to be found in the idea of revenge. A member of a clan is murdered, and not only his fellow kinsmen but the ancestral spirits as well demand a life in return. The solidarity of any group in any society at any time or in any place may be so great that blood revenge is demanded. The city gang, the Southern "cracker," the Italian Camorra, the Corsican Vendetta, the Chinese Tongs, often institute this type of punishment. Blood revenge carries with it the principle of joint-liability or collective responsibility. The actual murderer is not necessarily sought out, but an injury done to any member of the group to which he belongs will satisfy the need for revenge. As it is the group quite as much as the individual who has suffered the loss, so it is the group and not the individual

who must avenge the wrong. In the same way, it is the group to which the culprit belongs which must be punished, and not necessarily the individual wrong-doer. This brings about blood-feuds and reprisals lasting for generations. Law takes its course without the intervention of a trial. This idea of joint liability is carried to an absurd extreme among some people, where a person injuring himself has to be punished, as he has thus injured his group.

The principle of collective responsibility is sometimes almost entirely lacking in our present-day life. It took nearly three years for America to realize its duties to the world at large during the late War, and even now it makes the mistake, according to many minds, of refusing the opportunity to share in the responsibility of making a better world as visualized in the League of Nations. "Civic virtue" is another and narrower field where the principle of joint liability plays a part. The teachings of the Boy Scouts and other similar organizations lay emphasis upon this point.

The duel among many uncivilized peoples is a higher phase of the collective method of redress. The murdered man's brother may challenge a member of the group to which the criminal belongs. Later, the culprit himself may be forced to accept the challenge.

There is the sharpest distinction made between crimes committed within the tribe or a smaller group and those perpetrated on persons outside these units. The recognition of what constitutes a crime may depend entirely upon this factor of discrimination. Theft may be most severely dealt with within the group, but considered worthy of acclaim if directed toward a member of another band. Incest and adultery are solely, of course,

"in-group" crimes, and are usually most heavily punished.

Settlement or composition are factors that often come to play a part in early law on account of the barrenness of revenge with no direct compensation. The development of property also may lead to payment of goods as fines instead of blood revenge. This is seen in the *wergild* in Anglo-Saxon and in ancient Teutonic law. The *wer* was a man, or the price of a man's life. There was a definite schedule of payments depending on the crime and on the importance of the individual killed or injured. This scheme of payment is common in primitive societies.

Trials are, in many cases, magico-religious in character. Evidence of guilt or innocence is demanded of the supernatural powers. The decision is placed in the laps of the gods, and divination and ordeals are inaugurated to learn their will. The question asked is always a categorical one, demanding a negative or a positive answer. A person in Africa suspected of poisoning his wife is called upon to prove his innocence by undergoing the ordeal of poison. He has to eat the powdered bark of the casca tree. If he vomits, he is innocent; if the casca acts as a purgative, he is guilty and is put to death.[8] Walking through burning coals is a common ordeal: the gods protecting the feet of the innocent from harm and allowing the guilty to suffer.

This means of obtaining evidence was common in the Middle Ages in ecclesiastical as well as in civil trials. The Christian God was substituted for the heathen deities as the purveyor of justice. The *corsned* was a piece of bread consecrated by exorcism and swallowed

by a person suspected of crime. If the accused was guilty, the bread was supposed to produce convulsions in accordance with the prayer of the exorcism; if he was innocent no harm resulted. Witches were tried by ordeal. The wager of battle was another means of administering justice. The "judgment of God" regarding guilt avoided the possibility of perjury, and made a definite decision inevitable. If two persons were suspected of guilt; each was made to hold out his arms in the form of a cross. God gave strength to the innocent, and thus he could hold out his arms longer than the guilty one, and his innocence was established.

Torture, which long held its place as an engine of justice in the Christian Church was very seldom employed by the savage to determine guilt.

The oath is really an ordeal, and was originally applied to ascertain the guilt or innocence of the suspected culprit. It is now used to confirm the truthfulness of the witness, with the implied idea that the Deity would avenge him who swears falsely. It may be suggested that the increasing prevalence of perjury is due to a corresponding decrease in the idea of the sanctity of the oath, and the feeling that God, after all, is not going to punish one who swears falsely.

Goitein, in his *Primitive Ordeal and Modern Law,* thinks that the passage from ordeal to trial is bridged by the oath, accompanied by a psychological development from emotion to reason, and that the human judge is gradually substituted for the supernatural power that determines the result of the ordeal.[9] This "worldly method" of trial by a judge, more commonly by a jury, is not unknown in the primitive world.

Tabu

Tabu is first of all a form of law, but it is often a system in itself, even an institution. The interdiction put on something should be distinguished from the thing which is placed under a ban. In tabu, as a form of law, the "thou shalt not's" are as common as the "thou shalt's." Most of the Ten Commandments can be placed in the category of tabus. This word, which has been taken over into our language, is a Polynesian term with an uncertain etymology. In the land of its birth it is applied alike to anything holy and sacred or polluted and accursed. Signs reading "Kapu," which is another form of "tabu," are still used in the modern city of Honolulu for "No Trespassing," "No Passing Through," "Keep Off."

The important feature from the psychological point of view in the study of tabu is not the things which are forbidden but the mere fact of prohibition. All objects covered by a tabu are dangerous, but few things dangerous in themselves are tabu. Wittingly rubbing your hand on the edge of a sharp knife is not tabu, but looking at the moon may be dangerous to life under certain conditions.

I once knew a Navajo woman, over sixty years old, who was quite evidently suffering from the infirmities of old age. The cause of her weaknesses, in her estimation, had necessarily to be traced back to some violation of a tabu. She had never wittingly broken one of these unwritten laws, but her present condition indicated that in some way the gods were offended with her. She called in a shaman to determine the tabu which had been violated. He went into a trance, but could find no way in

which she had erred. He did discover, however, that shortly before this woman's birth, sixty years or more before, her mother had broken the tabu against pregnant women seeing an eclipse of the moon. The mother had not been punished, but the sins of the parent had visited, not the child, but the woman in her old age. Elaborate ceremonials were then undertaken to appease these long-suffering gods.

Things which experience would never teach you are dangerous in themselves are often prohibited. But the savage, knowing the tabus of his people, and even unwittingly breaking one, may become ill, and die, so strong is the force of suggestion and his belief in the unerring power of evil which comes to all violators of these unwritten laws.

Tabu has a mystery about it. "To break a tabu is to set in motion against oneself mystic wonder-working power in one form or another. It may be of the wholly bad variety. . . . . On the other hand, many tabooed things, woman's blood or the king's touch, have power to cure no less than to kill." [10] Frazer considers tabu a negative sort of magic. There is no doubt that the prohibitions of tabu are often as irrational as the positive precepts coming under magic and sorcery. Many tabus begin in the same way as magical practices; an attempt to find a cause for an effect, and the same illogical modes of thought frequently underlie both magic and tabu. Both, to a great extent, work along the same lines by the supposed laws of contact and similarity. Contagious magic prevents the touching of a new-born babe until acts of purification have been carried out. Symbolic magic interdicts an Eskimo boy of Baffin's

Land from playing cat's cradle, lest, later on in life, his fingers might get entangled in the line of a harpoon.

Marett thinks that tabu is closely bound up with the idea of *mana*. This is a Melanesian word, meaning power, and shows itself in any object, non-human or human, that produces extraordinary effects. In the Pacific Islands all great achievements of men are attributed to it. When it is found in an inanimate object it may produce some physical effect. "*Tabu* simply implies that you must be heedful in regard to the supernatural. . . . The warning is against casual, incautious, profane dealings. 'Not to be lightly approached' is Codrington's translation for the corresponding term in the New Hebrides." There is thus something besides sympathetic magic in the idea of tabu. A chief is tabu: he has *mana* and is therefore feared. He is not held in awe by men "lest they become kingly, but lest they be blasted by the superman's supermanliness." [11]

The transmissibility of *mana* and of tabu is one of the most persistent features. Examples of pollution by contact have already been noted in some of the birth and death customs. In Greece the offerings used in purifying a murderer became in the process themselves polluted, and had to be burned. The contagion or infection of sacredness works in exactly the same way. A holy man or a holy thing makes all surrounding objects sacred, and the unconsecrated are proscribed in their actions in the presence of holiness. The body, the clothes, the utensils, the footprints, even the shadow of a king, are sometimes fatal to those who come in contact with them. Fish in the sacred river in Attica were themselves, like the stream, sacred to Demeter, and might be caught by her priests alone.

Tabu may sometimes be called an institution in early society. This is especially true in Polynesia, where it was almost a method of government. It was a penal code as well as a religious one. It permeated every act of life, from birth to death. There were certain permanent prohibitions connected with royal personages and chiefs, places, and things, and there were temporary prohibitions placed on objects and places by decree of the rulers. A whole island might be under a tabu, and no one could leave or approach it. There were tabu periods, often several in a month, when no work of any kind could be done, and no food could be cooked. Dogs were tied up so that they could not bark, and fowls were placed in the dark. The Christian missionaries found it easy to introduce the rigid observance of a Puritanical Sabbath in Hawaii, as a tabu on work and play was established by the chiefs at the request of the missionaries every seventh day.

The break-down of the tabu among a primitive people on the arrival of the whites is rapid. When the native Hawaiians found the white man doing with impunity that which their laws forbade, and no evil resulting, they soon realized that tabus were entirely artificial affairs, and that the gods were not constantly on the watch and always eager to punish the breaker of these laws.

It was the tabus in the Middle Ages which were often mistaken for that which constituted Christianity. The best Christians, it was sometimes thought, were those who construed the tabus on wealth, pleasure, luxury, and sex most strictly. Such persons were the most holy, and some could even work miracles.[12]

Tabu is so closely intertwined with our social and religious life that it is often completely overlooked in

any estimate of our social and religious institutions. The tabu of food, for example, found among primitive peoples, often in connection with totemism, and in other features of their life, is brought down to us by the fast of the Christian Church and by prohibitions regarding certain foods by the Jews. Many tabus are essentially irrational. It is difficult to draw the line separating tabus founded on superstitions and prohibitions resembling tabus in that they are irrational. To use a homely example, the older books on etiquette state that green peas should be eaten with a spoon and never with a fork. The modern rule is exactly the opposite. In the present age many of our tabus are fast disappearing and with them some of the refinements and decencies of life. Some, on the other hand, we can well dispense with.

There is little direct evidence to show exactly how primitive man decided what things were to be prohibited, but we can reason by analogy regarding this point, by noting the ease with which certain customs come to be considered unlucky in our own civilized life. Superstitions often arise owing to a false reasoning in the search backward for a cause of some bad effect. Someone has said that we are all ex-savages with customs bearing visible traces of our ancient ancestors.

College Superstitions*

As an illustration of the continuity of ideas between the savage and civilized man, a discussion of present-day superstitions, magic, tabu, and charms is not out

* In the Appendix will be found a selection of themes written by Freshmen upon superstitions, together with a few comments by the author.

of place. We all think of the ignorant as being especially prone to superstitious practices. During the crisis of the late War, superstition raised its head high above the horizon; the number of amulets and charms worn by the soldiers and sailors was almost equal to the number of the personnel. But it is not the superstitions of the ignorant, strictly speaking, nor those of the enlisted man, upon which the present investigation is directed; but the superstitious practices of the college student, both male and female.

This quest was started as the result of a talk given to a class of young women. The topic for discussion was the character of a fetish, a material object, usually of some homely sort, that was believed to possess some power for good or for evil—perhaps the abode of a spirit. One of the members of the class raised her hand and announced that she thought she had a fetish—her fountain pen. She had used it most successfully in writing her examinations, but, upon losing it, she received poor marks in all the tests written with a borrowed pen. Her trust in her "fetish" increased after she had found her own pen and regained her good marks. The pen must have *mana.*

This incident, which happened many years ago, became the incentive to an investigation of the use of fetishes and the belief in superstitions among college undergraduates. My sporadic interest continued for a long time, and finally resulted in a personal investigation of classes of young men and young women in different parts of the country. It was found that from 70 to 75 per cent of the undergraduates studied carried out certain acts or refrained from carrying them out in the hope that something good would follow or something

evil would be prevented. About 25 per cent of the persons examined carried about their persons or had in their rooms "lucky" objects: pocket-pieces, coins, amulets. A part of these, at least, were strictly analogous with the fetish of the savage. Contrary to common belief, college boys seem in general to be more given to superstitious practices than their academic sisters.

Leaving aside the more common superstitions known, even if not observed, by everyone,—thirteen at the table, breaking mirrors, Friday the thirteenth, walking under a ladder, and others of this sort,—let us consider those which are met with only in an educational institution. A long list of practices was found that were carried out before examinations. Certain boys did not shave on the day of a test (perhaps the Samson complex); other students, including girls, wore certain clothes that were thought to be lucky. A special neck-tie was often reserved for this time of tribulation. The same relative seat in the examination rooms, lecture notes under the pillow on the night before a test, a visit to morning chapel, are only a few practices which are in the census. An examination must never be said to have been easy. Several men have reserved a suit of clothes for examinations, and have worn them at every major test taken during their four years at college. Girls have good-luck dresses, always having a successful time when wearing a certain dress; other dresses fall into the opposite category.

There is a longer list of protective measures grouped around athletic events and games of chance. Professional athletes are proverbially most superstitious, and the college athlete is no exception. Suits worn at practice must by no means be changed for new ones during a contest. To wear clothing, a belt for example, belong-

ing to a good tennis player, gives you additional skill; a perfect example of contagious magic. Tapping the home plate with a bat a certain number of times, whirling the bat before coming to the plate in a certain way, are very common. One man considered himself a "hoodoo"; his presence as a spectator was always disastrous to his college team; so he remained away from games, owing to his college loyalty. A four-leaf clover or some other device is often varnished on the oars of the boats belonging to a crew. The numberless devices and tabus centering around games of chance can be passed over.

Many of these practices can be traced directly to the social background of a youth's family,—perhaps to a superstitious nurse, or to parents who believe in omens. It is quite evident, on the other hand, that some are entirely personal and spontaneous. We hear much of thirteen at a table, breaking a mirror, and that kind of superstition, but how many have heard of the idea, not at all uncommon, that a definite point must be reached before a certain event occurs? A clock is about to strike and one must arrive at a given place before the bell begins. If this is attained, a feeling of contentment follows.

Many of these practices do not come under the head of superstitions at all, but should simply be called foolish habits. Everyone who raps on wood after boasting is not superstitious. The test, it seems to me, is this. If a feeling of distinct uneasiness follows a failure to carry out one of these acts, and, conversely, if satisfaction follows as the result of having performed it, one must be called superstitious. A common verdict regarding such actions is that "it isn't much bother and we'd better take no chances." The play instinct has a part in all this.

There is little doubt that the psychology behind these actions is varied. We can only say that some, at least, belong to the background of the savage, and can be explained only after taking into account the "laws" of his magic.

One man writes he cannot be superstitious because he is an agnostic, another is quite as sure that he is not superstitious because he is a Christian. A third states that he used to be superstitious, but that he is not so any longer; in fact, he thinks that thirteen is his luckiest number. One can easily agree with a Freshman who writes, "Superstition is the daughter of ignorance and the paramour of fear." The fact remains that present-day man has his superstitions, and under the petty crises of life in the student world—examinations and athletic contests—they appear in varied forms. Primitive man has to have something supernatural or mystical on which to lean in his affairs, and the same feeling is present in our lives today.

Religion furnishes a sustaining force to many and in some of its manifestations shows certain phases of superstition. The Church has been forced to take cognizance of the fact that some material object is often demanded as a visible manifestation of the hidden powers of the Spirit. According to the newspapers, there was a service not long ago in a church in the Italian district of Boston, where the priest invoked the protection of St. Christopher, the Patron Saint of transportation, in behalf of hundreds of automobilists gathered together for this purpose. Each automobile driver received two medals which were blessed during the service. One was to be worn on the person and the other, on which was pictured Titian's St. Christopher bearing the Christ-child over a river, was

to be attached to the motor. Both medals were inscribed, "St. Christopher protect us."

Hesiod, "the father of Greek didactic poetry," ends his poem *Works and Days* thus:

> "Lucky and bless'd is he who, knowing all these things,
> Toils in the fields, blameless before the Immortals,
> Knowing in birds and not overstepping tabus." [18]

Ethics

The final topic for consideration is the question of ethical conduct. It is well, first of all, to correct a popular impression that the savage is a child. Shelley wrote, "The savage is to ages what the child is to years." The childishness of primitive man is frequently mentioned. There is a child part in the brain of primitive man as in civilized man, as has already been pointed out. This does not mean that we can always explain the activities of the savage by watching our children develop. The analogy is not a true one. Gummere has noted the foolishness of the attempts of some to compare the poetry of primitive man with the first cry of pain or of pleasure in an infant. The infant of an adult race and an adult of an infant race differ fundamentally. In emotions, in character, and in morals, the savage is a man.

In this discussion of morality we can dismiss as irrelevant from our discussion the intuitional theory that man has a special God-given conscience, an inherent moral sense, that tells him what is good and what is bad. James wrote that the holders of the intuitional theory of ethics are in much the same position as the famous blindfolded man in a dark room looking for a black cat that is not

there. We can also neglect the question of "moral obligation" to conformity to the dictates of conscience. The matter of subjective morality is not touched upon here as the data are too complicated and too confusing. This is so both by the nature of the subject itself and by the anthropological material available for its study. We shall limit ourselves primarily to a discussion of the moral code of the savage and his success in living up to this code.

Morality, both to the savage and to civilized man, is often nothing but conformity to tradition and custom. It is not universal but particular in its application. It is quite evident that primitive man has a code of conduct that is prescribed for him by the society to which he belongs. It is precise, and there is no possibility of hesitation since his laws and customs coincide in a way not found in civilized communities. With us, law has only to do with the codification of those customs which are so fundamental in the life of a group that society has found it necessary to enforce them. Our freedom regarding customs is left, to a great extent, to personal choice, although encroachments are being made upon it more and more.

In commenting upon a person in modern society who has overstepped convention and trampled upon the proprieties of life, we often describe him as "acting like a perfect savage." I hope that I have been able to show that this comparison is not fair to the savage. We have found him observing the strictest rules of etiquette laid down by his laws of tabu. We have seen him restrained in sex matters, in diet, and in actions. The untrammeled creature in primitive society is a "poetic license."

The world's opinion of the ethical conduct of primitive

man is mainly derived from the tales of travellers, about which comment has been made before. Mariner, in giving an account of the Tongans, describes them "as loyal and pious, obedient children, affectionate parents, kind husbands, modest and faithful wives, and true friends." On the other hand, he writes. "They seem to have little feeling of morality. They have no words for justice or injustice, for cruelty or humanity. Theft, revenge, rape, and murder, under many circumstances, are not held to be crimes. . . . The men were cruel, treacherous and revengeful."[14] This lack of consistency is quite typical of the traveller who attempts to describe the behavior of primitive man.

In the study of morality of any people it is often difficult for an outsider to gain a very definite idea of the code of ethical conduct in force at any time or in any place. This is especially true when the savage is considered, as customs, often abhorrent to the investigator, may have an ethical sanction behind them. It is sometimes difficult to realize that crimes among one people may be virtues among another, and *vice versa.* This truth is easier to understand after one has considered the tremendous changes in moral standards in our own society, even within a few generations, nay, even within a single generation.

Cannibalism, female infanticide, killing the aged and infirm, will always shock the sensibilities of civilized man, but in all cases there is some reason, connected with religion, economic necessity, or with social standards, that makes these customs fall naturally into the moral background of primitive life. We hear more of these acts abhorrent to our feelings than we do of those customs which more nearly conform to our own mode of living.

Cannibalism is relatively rare, and when found it is usually associated with people who are by no means in the lowest stages of barbarism. There is no doubt that it does conform to the *mores* of some primitive peoples, and as such should not be considered unethical.

It is often far from easy to gain a satisfactory knowledge of the moral code of any one people. Perhaps the most elusive data of the field anthropologist are those based upon standards of conduct. Direct questions usually lead to very unsatisfactory results. A study of mythology and traditions is sometimes useful in this connection. It means nothing that a crime, terrible to us, is committed in the myth. Story-tellers of all ages have delighted in tales of horror. But if the beneficent gods of the people are shown as approving the crime, if the teller of the myth expects assent on the part of his audience, or if the action meets with a reward, we may be fairly certain that the crime is not a crime in the eyes of the primitive group, however repulsive it appears to our ideas of conduct. If, on the other hand, some action which appears as natural to us and entirely harmonious with our code of ethics is severely punished in the tales, and the culprit meets with universal disapproval, we can be sure that this is unethical from the point of view of the people in question.[15]

There is no doubt, then, that primitive man has a very definite standard of right and wrong. His rules of conduct cover in a very orderly way practically every action that he takes. "Custom is king"; it is more than this, it is a *sacred* king. It leaves little leeway for a personal judgment regarding actions, or small opportunity for deliberation. Conformity to the accepted code is demanded by the social traditions of the group,

and often by the religious sanction as well. The fear of breaking a tabu is analogous to that feeling of breaking some rule laid down by the more highly developed religions. The term "an upright, God-fearing man," as McDougall points out, shows the long persistence of fear and awe in religion, and the tendency to identify uprightness with God-fearingness.[16] Primitive man is a *gods*-fearing man in every respect. But another factor which always plays a part in enforcing the moral code, in both savage and civilized communities, is public opinion, the desire to stand well in the eyes of the community. In a homogeneous group, as we find it among savages, the social sanction finds behind it a social solidarity. Public opinion means a single unanimous force, and the social adjustment of the individual is practically inevitable. Social commendation is the one thing desired. Ridicule and perhaps ostracism are some of the punishments for action contrary to the accepted rule.

Primitive man has two standards of conduct,—that directed towards members of his own group, and that for all outsiders. A crime committed against a member of one's own clan and punishable by death, may pass into an action commended by all if directed towards an outsider. Our standards towards our enemies when at war are in the same category. Foreign relations often show an ethical code differing from that used within a country.

Morality, it has been said, is but the prevailing system of keeping people in their place, out of other people's way; the uninitiated out of the way of the initiated, kindred away from kindred as in exogamy, the subject

out of the way of the chief or priest, and the dead out of the way of the living.[17]

Let us consider very briefly some of the customs called "virtues" of primitive man as he has been pictured in the preceding chapters. Take first the "domestic virtues." The basis of all society is in the family, and true marriage is always present. Furthermore, it is often monogamous relationship. William Dean Howells said, "Man is imperfectly monogamous," and I am inclined to think that this imperfection is as great in modern society as it is among savages. But this is beside the point, as we are discussing the rules of established ethical conduct bearing on sex relations, and here we find monogamous marriage the commonest form. And polygyny itself, repelling to modern thought, does not necessarily carry with it any degradation of women as we find it in early society. We have seen the strictest rules regarding the choice of the wife, the descent, inheritance, and residence, all working out in a well regulated system. The co-operation of father and mother in rearing children and providing them with food and shelter comes full-born from the animal into the human world. Universal obedience and respect paid by youth to old age is a prominent feature in every primitive group, and one certainly cannot say the same thing of modern society. The instruction of the youth in the arts is almost like the apprentice system. Their ethical and religious training is seen in the puberty rite, cruel, but socially effective.

The relationship between kinsmen extends farther than with us. Emotionally and socially they form one brotherhood as seen in the clan. Blood revenge strengthens this

solidarity. Hospitality to strangers, the adoption of prisoners of war and other outsiders, are all common features of savage life.

The "political virtues" are often simply an enlargement of those of the domestic horizon with tribal solidarity and co-operation between groups by no means uncommon. Warfare is seldom endemic among primitive peoples, as one might be led to suppose. A democracy is the usual form of government, and prestige and leadership are the rewards for high endowment on the mental rather than on the physical side.

I have been discussing this subject from the objective side. Passing for a moment to the subjective view of morality, I feel that we have something to learn from the undeveloped peoples. We certainly have a great deal to regret in our dealings with the simpler populations. Savage society is on the wane. The "nature peoples" have suffered despoilment and extermination by the "triumphs of our modern civilization." They have succumbed partially at least to the destructive methods of civilized greed, but principally to alcoholism and the parasitic diseases of modern times. The carriers of this civilization are carriers of disease. These willing bearers are more or less inured to their own vices until they have acquired a loathsome sort of blunting to all that is natural and simple. The modern estimate of primitive man is usually based upon the contemporaneous savage with his characteristics, many of which have been acquired from the white man and are foreign to his ancestors. It is unfair to study him after he has been under the influences of the kind of civilization found around trading posts, railroad stations, and the wharves of island communities. He should be studied away from

these "uplifting tendencies" and before his "brutish and stultified régime" has been conquered by a "superior biological and ethical power."

The religion of primitive man embraces his every act, and there is no distinct category of religion divorced from daily conduct. In the same way, morality and religion are not so completely separated as is commonly supposed. The supernatural sanctions for action and divine retribution, often as a certain punishment for breaking the moral code, show the close relationship existing between religion and the laws of right living.

We find that certain acts have always been repugnant in all stages of society, such as murder, theft, and want of hospitality. The ideas regarding incest vary, but the crime is universally condemned by the savage, quite as much as by civilized man. Primitive man probably has quite as many inhibitions as we have today. His moral code lays down a definite line of behavior, and there are no shades of interpretation possible. It is either right to do a thing, or wrong. Mitigating circumstances are rarely allowed as excuses for breaking a tabu. Furthermore, there is never any difference between public opinion and the code of right conduct. There is, thus, little occasion for the savage to stand out against public opinion. In a homogeneous group there is not one belief for the majority and another for the minority, with the possibility of a selection of the right from the wrong. Public opinion *is* the code.[18]

As Marett shows, one of the drawbacks of the ruder peoples is the lack of privacy, and "from a moral point of view, this lack of opportunity for private judgment is equivalent to a want of moral freedom. . . . Savage morality, then, is not rational in the sense of analysed,

but is, so to speak, impressionistic."[19] The moral sanction is external, not internal.

I have tried to show that there are certain fundamental aspects of moral nature which are changeless whether found in early or late society. Moral tradition is another thing. The test of ethical conduct is based upon the way in which man lives up to his particular tradition. The savage has a code, and his success in living up to it is probably as great, if not greater, than that of civilized man who tries to conform to the present standards of ethical conduct. The spectacle of a European or an American in an environment where the restraints of the moral code of his group have little hold is certainly not one which brings to his race any special credit as an ethical people. And this is, of course, the same line of conduct carried out by a savage under similar circumstances.

There is the story told of a traveller who, on returning from a visit to a savage tribe, wrote a book. In his section on "Customs and Manners" he had only these four words: "Customs, beastly; manners, none." This chapter and, in fact, this whole book are attempts to prove that this traveller was wrong. The same idea runs through the writings of many. The philosopher Hobbes, writing on primitive life, said it was "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short." Even Spencer erred greatly in his description of many of the features of primitive life.

The great difficulty with the general point of view towards the savage is, as Dewey writes, that "the present civilized mind is virtually taken as a standard and the savage mind is measured off on this fixed scale. It is no wonder that the outcome is negative; that primitive

mind is described in terms of 'lack,' 'absence:' its traits are incapacities."[20] In an Elizabethan translation of the two first books of Herodotus there is a marginal note against a startling statement regarding Egyptian manners,—"Observe ye Beastly Devices of ye Heathen." In this rapid survey of the social life of "the heathen" I have tried to give some of the customs, "beastly" and otherwise. Even the so-called "beastly" ones have a rational place in the social background of savage life.

Conclusions

Our findings with regard to the nature of uncivilized man and of his institutions may be summarized as follows:

1. There is no present evidence, physical, psychological, or cultural, to prove that contemporaneous savages are fundamentally different in mind, body, or estate from the sophisticated human product of civilization. The savage is "bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh." He is, in short, a "poor relation, but our own."

2. Either by common cultural invention or by independent invention, savages the world over have come to possess in some form every basic institution of civilized society. There is no reason to believe that they owe such social institutions to precept, example, or imitation of the so-called "Higher Cultures." On the contrary, these "Higher Cultures" owe much to the institutions from which they have been derived.

3. These institutions are not necessarily the nodes of a common growth, nor can they be arranged in an orderly series. The species and, often, the genus may vary greatly. The evolution of institutions may, like physical

life, have had many mutations; but, unlike the animal and vegetable world, they have had more than this; for they are characterized by many spontaneous growths, individual creations of life-forms, (the product of the workings of the mind), with few homologies but many analogies. Similarity of nomenclature does not always mean either identity of structure or a common history.

4. The savage in his customs and social organization manifests a genius for diversification, a skill in practical adaptation, and a willingness and often a surprising ability to modify and to improve which make it unsafe to assume that primitive man is either stagnant or degenerate. Any modern group of savages with health and unmolested by the grosser benefits of civilization may have the potentiality to work out for itself an abundant spiritual and material enrichment.

5. All of the defects behind the so-called irrational follies of the savage, evidenced in superstition, credulity, suspicion, and vanity, are the common inheritance of all mankind. The same psychological principles are behind the same psychological weaknesses both in savage and in civilized life. They are actively functioning among the ignorant of the civilized peoples and are by no means atrophied in those human groups which have been most constantly exposed to education.

6. The measure of savage attainment in conformity of conduct to custom and law is such as to challenge the admiration of every impartial student of ethics.

7. If we compare the relation between opportunity and achievement of the savage and of his more cultured brother, we soon realize that, from this point of view, our superiority is very doubtful. The complexity of institu-

tions is not a measure of their validity, nor is the multiplication of inventive devices a true criterion of progress.

The savage is a rational being, morally sound, and in every respect worthy of a place in the "Universal Brotherhood of Man."

APPENDIX

Freshman Themes on Superstitions and Other Beliefs and Practices*

Superstitious beliefs may roughly be divided into those that are based on actions and those founded on some material object such as a fetish or charm. There are many other ways in which superstitions can be classified: some are prophylactics to prevent evil, others are charms to coerce "good luck." In the present brief study two classes may be distinguished. In the first belong those that are adopted as the result of suggestion, the common beliefs in knocking wood, in the number 13, a post intervening between friends, breaking mirrors, and others of that type. The second class is much more interesting, and includes those which are individual, and due, in general, to no outside influence. They come into the mind privately, and hold a place there usually unknown to anyone else. Imaginary lines running out at right angles from pieces of furniture which must be avoided, and reaching a definite place before some event occurs, are examples of this type.

Fetishes may be placed in the same two categories; the rabbit's foot and the horseshoe are suggestion-made charms; many fetishes, however, are selected as seats

* The reader is referred to the previous discussion in the text (p. 225-229), where there is a summary treatment of college superstitions.

of power owing to no suggestion from others, but due to the supposed "run of luck" coming from association with these objects. In this type a man does not start out and say he is going to have this or that as his fetish. He is fortunate in some undertaking and, reasoning backward, he tries to find something which is responsible for his success.

Owing to the kindly co-operation of the authorities in charge of a Freshman English composition course, a large number of themes have been collected, showing the attitude of the college man towards superstitions and other beliefs. A selection of these themes is presented here. Facetious essays on this subject, that were obvious attempts to excite the credulity of the instructor, have been eliminated, but examples of "fine writing," so typical of Freshman themes, have not been barred out. I feel sure that the ones given here are sincere attempts to express the individual attitude of the authors. The major part of my investigation of college superstitions has been directed towards the beliefs of my own students, where I have been able to check up by personal contact the results as I find them. These Freshman superstitions have not been investigated by personal interview with the writers; but they all bear out what I have found among the older men in my own classes.

An extension of the study of this type of college-lore should be made to include the nationality, the social class, and the scholastic standing of the superstitious student. This has not been done to any great extent. The poor, hard-working youth has little time for superstitions, but the college "sport" and the athlete, almost without exception, carry out, often as a play instinct, many superstitious practices. The good student seems

to be almost as venial in this respect as the low-grade man. These themes are presented as they were written, without the suggested corrections of the instructors.

I feel quite sure that many of my readers will agree strongly with the attitude of the authors of the two following themes:

"What has the modern day come to, when the English Department of a great college in all seriousness asks the students to write a composition on their individual fetishes or superstitions. Any man possessed with an ordinary amount of common sense knows that the days of Macbeth's witches and the supernatural are past."

"I am very sorry to say that I have no fetish, crotchet, or other interesting disease for the analysis of the distinguished investigator. Is not a modern college a most unpromising field to gain any data of such a sort? One should go lower in the intellectual scale, to toothless cronies, even perhaps to hod carriers. The lower we get the richer the field becomes until we come to the creature who is kept in the padded cell."

Another expresses the same disgust at the subject given for a theme, but he does admit that, far in his distant youth, he did have a fetish.

"I sincerely believe that any full-grown man who has enough brains to be a college student, but who is earnestly superstitious in any way whatsoever, should be an object of pity rather than of derision. Although I have taxed my brain for an hour, I can recollect but one instance in which I ever carried a fetish. Note, however, that I did not make myself an object of pity, according to the above definition, because I was but ten years old. At that time I half-convinced myself that an old key, which I had accidentally carried with me to a party, had been the substantial cause of my having a very good time. When I went to a Valentine party some time later, I took the key with me in the hope that it would have a magic influence on my happiness. But, for a partner in some of the games that we played that evening,

I was allotted a certain homely red-haired girl, to whom I have a particular aversion. The next day, I threw the key away in disgust."

Still another resents the fact that a man with any intellect can be superstitious. He feels that psychical research and hypnotism are far more interesting:

"I have one superstition, and that is that a man who is superstitious should be avoided. He is certainly a bore and probably lacking in intellect. It takes a woefully deficient sense of proportion to picture the Almighty on the watch for those who break mirrors or spill the salt. There *may* be truth in "lucky numbers" but if there is, then, in my opinion, the times are out of joint, and such truth should remain concealed in the valve of the reservoir where, proverbs tell us, it belongs. I am interested in psychical research and in hypnotism. I am not one of those who declare loudly that 'all mediums are frauds'; some one might ask me if I had studied the subject. But in the matter of superstitions I can speak with authority. In my youth I have shattered mirrors, walked under ladders and played with the salt . . . and nothing serious happened. On the whole the only really unlucky thing is to believe in luck."

One man feels that mental telepathy is more worthy of study:

"Superstition, thank Heaven, is one hallucination which has never troubled me. I believe in mental telepathy and instances of 'mental stunts', but as regards superstition I can say truly that I have never seen anything to prove that there is anything in it."

The next feels that religion is a superstition and, as he is an agnostic, he cannot be expected to have any such beliefs. He is also one of many who feel that he is free from superstition if he always goes out of his way to court "No. 13."

"I take great joy in doing everything that I am told will bring me 'bad luck.' I always make it a point, in fact, I go out of my

way, to knock the little fat god Superstition on the head. I have no objection to walking under a ladder except when it is used by a painter, and then it is a case of 'discretion is the better part of valor.' I suppose partly out of mere bravado, I always ask for 'Number 13.' This feeling, or rather, lack of feeling towards fetishes is due to the fact that I am an Agnostic. With me Agnosticism is not merely a newly acquired fact, but a result of my bringing up. I have never been led—that is, guided by my parents—in any belief in divine power or being. In fact, I look upon religion as a superstition."

The opposite view is taken by another:

"I am a Christian—at least it is my ambition to be one—and in my opinion a true Christian should have no superstitions. Superstition is merely a remnant of heathenism."

A still keener religious attitude is shown in the following:

"I do not believe in Fetishes. Fetishes are in fact little idols and as such have no place where the Bible reveals to men the only way to reconciliation with God. That men in a civilized land believe in the same little gods that the Indians and the other barbaric peoples do, shows the need of the proclamation of the good news of salvation through the atoning work of Jesus Christ. Man is a religious animal and if he does not, because of ignorance or self-will, know God, he will turn to graven images and bow down to them. It is a hopeful sign, in that it shows that the man feels the need of divine help, in the problems, and crises of his life. With the same breath one can sympathize with his misplaced faith and credulity because of the utter impotency of the fetish to help him. His only hope for supernatural guidance and for all tests and trials of life is to know the only and the true God and to "turn from idols to serve the living God.'"

The two preceding writers would agree with Plutarch, who has much that is valuable to say regarding superstitious. He remarks, "Ignorance and uninstructedness concerning the Gods may be compared to a river divided into two streams, one of which, as in stubborn souls,

produceth Atheism; and the other of which, as in marshy soils, produceth Superstition."

Another theme denies superstition without bringing in religion:

"Personally I am very much against any outward showing of superstitions, and have the tendency to do everything against such beliefs. If I see a ladder I walk under it. I have no reason to believe that '13' is unlucky, nor do I spend my spare hours in seeking four-leaved clovers . . . As for me 'I am from Missouri.'"

A final theme shows resentment, but, this time, it is because the privacy of life is invaded.

"Why should one be asked to betray himself in writing of his personal superstitions? Should one be asked to betray himself to satisfy the collective instinct or the eccentricities of a College 'Prof'? Should not superstitions be held as sacred to the one possessing them, something in the manner he regards his 'individual god' or his Patron Saint? Those that regard themselves as not possessing personal superstitions may be accused of hiding them with the purpose of being different from other people. Those that have superstitions would be ashamed of them as a relic of their primitive ancestors. They should be considered as more demoralizing than little personal faults. He who is superstitious has no place in America of the Twentieth Century."

One student does cherish a four-leaf clover, but not on superstitious grounds:

"I pick up a four-leaf clover because it is rare and furnishes a topic for conversation."

The next essay explains very accurately and very well the background of superstition in modern life:

"We live, so much like our predecessors of every age and clime,—we live, we say, in the age of enlightenment. But with all our harnessing of the forces of nature, we have not rid ourselves of many common superstitions, beliefs and practices, relics of mediaeval barbarism, the legacy of folklore of the dark ages

when all the lights were turned out and nobody dared to do any independent thinking. 'Tis superstition as well as conscience that makes cowards of us all, every mother's son of us, be he poet or peasant, prince or pauper, scientist or street-urchin, Secretary of Foreign Affairs or chimney sweep . . . There is no positive good or bad but only relative. Just so, we may boast that we are not superstitious but that only means that we do not know ourselves as well as we know others . . . I say 'Pooh, pooh' to all this rot, as I call it, about Friday, the 13th, black cats, etc. But that will assuredly be an extraordinary day when you will find me putting on my left shoe first or stepping on the cracks in a cement sidewalk."

The usual attitude of the student and the average point of view towards superstition, throughout the modern world, are shown in the two following themes:

"Do I believe in fetishes or am I superstitious? At first, without considering the matter, I would say 'no' to both questions, but after examining my mind for a few minutes I am forced to admit that I am to some degree superstitious. Shortly before the hour examinations in November, I found a four-leaf clover in a book which I bought at a second-hand store. Although I would deny that I am superstitious, yet I carried that clover leaf to several examinations. As I was not satisfied with my work in these examinations, I decided that the clover leaf was bringing me 'bad luck,' and threw it away . . . In my belief, no matter how cultivated or educated a man may be, he still retains some slight traces of the superstitious beliefs of his ancestors."

"I cannot say that I actually believe in superstitions and charms: yet, when I become aware of them, when I am unconsciously doing something, I can hardly refrain from making use of them. Often, I never think of making use of the 'knocking wood' charm, yet at times when I make a remark appropriate for it, I cannot for the life of me refrain from knocking wood; although at the time I know it is all foolishness. I argue against my common sense, that performing these charms can do no harm, but it is best to take every safeguard possible. I have the same feeling when I am walking with a friend and we pass on different sides of a post, or when I go beneath a ladder.

But the number 13 has rather the opposite effect upon me. I consider it lucky. I have one superstition, rather original as far as I am concerned, of not risking entering the water if I have done anything peculiar just beforehand. I remember one day I returned a long way back to the bath-house because I had not taken the usual path to the water."

Personally, I must confess, I sympathize with the views of the author of the following "finely written" theme, after a more or less intimate knowledge of the types of men who are somewhat superstitious and those who view with disdain any suggestion of the kind:

"Says Kipling to his 'Barrack-room' mates:

> 'You may talk o' gin and beer
> When you're quartered safe out 'ere, etc.,
> But when it comes to slaughter,
> You will do your work on water, etc.'

Just so. You may talk not in the light of calm reason and the throes of philosophic reflection about the foolishness and paganism of superstition. But out on the firing-line of life—not kid-glove life, that benevolent yeast called 'the social whirl'; not even the life of the great middle class—but down at the bottom, the simple, the ignorant *human* life of the masses—the root from which those higher forms first sprouted, the rude trunk fundamental to the existence of the more beautiful branches—there is where you find your 'slaughter' and there you find no thought of the downright foolishness of superstition, for there they are content to go 'ignorant' if 'knowledge' means a weakening of their blind hold on life and it does. Where the fighting is thickest, there are the strongest superstitions—and there, too, strange to say, are the men with the strongest personalities. When a man begins to throw away his little superstitions people say he is building character. Yes, but I am afraid that at the same time he is throwing away little by little his personality, that which made him feel his own peculiarities—himself as distinguished from the rest of the world. He begins to become more and more the literal 'thinking machine'; he is headed straight towards the life of the stoic scientist—a man doubtless

very valuable to the world, but whose society, somehow or other, I do not crave. No, Sir, I am proud of my superstitions. Every time I spit on my bait I chuckle to myself and thrill with the consciousness that *I* am *human*."

The most common superstitious practice is "knocking wood." It is a foolish habit and nothing more, in most cases, and yet many feel uncomfortable when they refrain from doing it, and the "armour of reason is not proof against insidious doubt." In some cases the wood must be unvarnished, and, again, it must be touched by an ungloved hand.

"Most people think of knocking on wood as a sort of joke; they do it just for fun. I used to think I did too; it was a sort of humorous notion, and I was rather proud of it. But one night I was disillusioned. I was lying in bed thinking about something that I was very anxious to have happen. I said to myself, 'It can't help happening.' Unconsciously I felt around for some wood. The bed was made entirely of steel. I rolled over to the edge and felt for the floor; it was carpet-covered. When I found myself getting up and stumbling around in the dark until I found a chair on which to knock, I realized that it was no mere joke. Ever since then I've had an uncomfortable feeling when I predict something and don't knock on wood. I know when I stop to reason it out that it's all nonsense, but I have a feeling inside somewhere as if I ought to do it. I know perfectly well that it will have no effect on the ultimate result; but then, of course, it might, and what's the use of taking chances? Now, instead of being proud of it, I'm ashamed of it and knock surreptitiously under tables, instead of boldly on the wall as I used to do."

"The one habit which may be called permanent is that of rapping on wood when I have just observed that, so far this season I have not had a single cold, or that, as yet, I have not been late to a lecture, or anything else which might be construed as a semi-boast. Not, you understand, because I have any faith in the efficacy of this performance; but merely because I feel better to have taken precaution against possible evil results."

" . . . On the other hand, if, in thinking of some event in which I am interested, I am so unfortunate as to say either aloud or mentally 'so and so will happen' I knock wood at once to prevent any miscarriage due to my rash assertion. Had I never been informed of the protective power of wood, I probably should never have thought of it. As it is, though I am absolutely certain that knocking wood is perfectly impotent to change the course of events, just as my statement that such and such things are powerless to affect the facts, there still remains in my mind the shadow of doubt. What if it really does make a difference No, this is too vital to me to risk in any way. I'll knock wood and make sure and I blush to state, I do."

Another very common belief is that it is unlucky to light three cigarettes with one match. Several have proved to their own satisfaction that there is something in this tabu.

"Many people are superstitious of lighting three cigarettes on one match. I have even seen some throw away a good smoke if two others had already been lighted on the same match, and I have even been with several companions who would go without smoking if there happened to be only one light among them all. At first, I placed little stock in this superstition, and never declined the fatal third light when it was offered to me. I considered it to be as groundless a fear as such others including the breaking of a mirror, and attending a party of thirteen. But here are several personal experiences which have happened to me in the last two years which I firmly attribute to the fact that a short time before I smoked one of the three cigarettes lit by one match. Whether or not my experiences were due to this fact is a question entirely left to the reader. . . . .

"While in San Francisco two summers ago with my brother and a friend, we drew out three cigarettes and I lit them all on one match. It was during the time of the Exposition and we were in the fair grounds. Just after lighting the cigarettes I noticed by the clock in the Tower of Jewels, that it was a quarter after five, and soon we all started back to the hotel at which we were staying. Upon arriving there, the head porter informed me that, due to a mixing in our trunk checks with those of an-

other party, our trunks had just left for Los Angeles. It was with much difficulty that we finally got them back. After this we found that they had left San Francisco on the five-fifteen train which was quite a coincidence with the fact that it was exactly the same time at which we had lighted our fatal smokes. Last fall just before taking my train to Boston, I smoked a third cigarette. I missed the train and, in driving up in an automobile, we were thrown from the car and I broke my arm."

"I was not superstitious. In fact I loved to laugh at people who were. Whenever I had a chance I walked under a ladder just to tease those who were so inclined. But now I have one (and only one) superstition. It all happened at a flying station. A friend of mine was up in a plane flying rather conservatively round the station. Suddenly his plane nosed down and to everybody's horror went into a tail-spin at an altitude of two hundred feet. As he was so low he had no time to come out of the spin, and as a result crashed. The next day I went over to the hospital to see him. He was just regaining consciousness and he said to me, 'Why did I ever light three cigarettes with one match. Somebody told me to blow out the match, and use a new one for the third fellow's cigarette, but I just laughed'. But 'never again.' From that time on I never use one match for three lights and I think I never will as long as I live. Whenever I have occasion to give three men lights at once I always see my friend's plane the minute after it crashed and I use two matches."

It is impossible to trace the origin of many of these superstitions, but it is characteristic to seek some explanation. There are several offered for the three cigarette tabu. One goes back to the Boer War, where two cigarettes could be lighted by the English soldier easily enough, but the time required to light the third made the presence of the men known to the enemy and thus proved fatal. It is typical of the study of all folk-customs for one to seek an explanation after a practice has long been in existence. There is seldom any way to prove that the real origin coincides with the derived one.

Lighting three cigarettes is a comparatively new tabu, but it is impossible to know the source or the reason of its origin. The writer of the next theme feels sure that he knows the beginning of the belief:

" . . . Another explainable superstition in which I believe is that you must never light three cigars, cigarettes or such things on a match. On two occasions in the last couple of months someone has done it in my car. In both cases we had tire trouble before getting home. I might also say that the tires were not old. The explanation of this superstition is that in the Russian Church, there is a service in which there are three candles. It is absolutely necessary that they be lit with the same match. For this reason it is almost sacrilege in the mind of some that three things are lighted on a match."

The strengthening of a belief, formerly scorned, by the untoward occurrences resulting from a failure to carry out some practice is illustrated in the next:

"Until two years ago, I hadn't the least superstition in the world. Thirteen was as lucky a number as any of them, and I think I am still quite sane, although I have slept in broad moonlight many a night. As I was saying, two years ago I was changed. I went for a short cruise with a friend of mine on his schooner yacht. This boat was originally a merchant-man in coastwise trade about New England. My friend wishes to keep the boat as much like the old as possible, and some of the old customs were carried out with ridiculous seriousness. One of these customs was that every man, coming up from below, should salute the quarter deck. This custom originated, I think, with the old caravel that carried a Crucifix on the poop. At any rate, we all did it with somewhat of a smile, until one day, when three of us came up together, two saluted but the third was carrying some lanterns and omitted to do so. We jollied him a little about it, and then went over to the rail, and sat down. The guilty one leaned back against the stay of one of the davits, gazed at the quarter deck and said, 'It's all bunkum.' With that the stay parted, the man went overboard, and was picked up again with not a little difficulty. That coincidence seemed to affect me very

seriously. Perhaps it was the only time on the trip that the salute had been omitted, the only time that anyone had said anything against it, and the only time that anyone fell overboard. At any rate, I have never since omitted to at least bow *(sic.)* the head, when I came up from below, on any boat big enough to claim a quarter deck."

The desire to find the cause of "a change of luck," the *post hoc propter hoc* theme, often shows a superstition in the making:

"It was during the middle of my Freshman year at High School that I noticed that my grades in the weekly 'exams' took a sudden drop. Study as hard as I would, I could not raise my low average. I could not account for this drop, for I studied just as hard as ever. Now I am not what you might call a superstitious fool; but I could not help going backward in my mind and searching for some recent event or change of habit that could possibly coincide with the beginning of my change from a high to a low grade. It was not long before I discovered the desired coincidence. I had up to the date of my 'drop' been riding to school by the subway train. But on the very Friday I had received my first low grade I had met a friend with whom I had ridden to school on a surface car. As I found this route shorter and more convenient I continued to use it, and was still using it at the time of this strange discovery. On the very next day I returned to the subway route and the very next Friday my grade rose from a '50' of the previous week to a '90'.

"A foolish coincidence, you will say; but it has influenced my actions in spite of myself. Every day, I go out determined to try the surface cars just for the fun of it, but some unseen instinctive force impels me to seek the subway route. Even now, while attending———, I walk every day a distance of almost half a mile to get a subway train, rather than take the surface car which runs right by my house. But every now and then I meet some friends, who also attend the same college and live on the same street; and I am compelled for companionship's sake to ride with them when they take the surface car. Invariably on such a day I have poor luck in all my work. For instance, I often upset apparatus in my chemistry laboratory when I ride

on the subway; but the damage is never so great as when I use the surface route. What would you call such a coincidence?"

One man is in doubt about the scientific facts behind superstition, but he feels "there is something in it."

"I do not carry any charms, but I do observe many traditions, most of which I do not believe in at all but some of which I do believe have a basis of fact. For instance, the belief that it is dangerous to sail on a vessel on which animals refuse to sail seems to have some foundation in the superior instincts of animals. Although it seems unreasonable to suppose that the animals have the power to foretell danger such has often been the case."

In the stress of the examination period there is a long list of actions carried out that are believed to bring success. The most common of these is wearing a particular piece of clothing, usually a neck-tie. The paper following illustrates this type of belief and its explanation in the mind of the student:

"Although the average person of today professes not to believe in superstitions, there are few who do not have some little peculiarities. And it is my belief that they are really worthy of the trust bestowed in them. For example when I was taking my entrance examinations I had one necktie tattered, spattered and worn, but which, in spite of these defects, I always wore. Now whether the success which this necktie brought was due to the divine powers, I am really in doubt; but I do know that without it, I would never have succeeded so well. But as I look at the situation now I consider that it was not the powers of the necktie that carried with it success, but the fact that I trusted to the powers, although not present. It gave me confidence. And confidence is a factor that cannot be lacking in such a case. This, I believe, is what superstition does for us."

The effort necessary in athletic contests or in examinations is seen in the following practice, by no means uncommon:

"Though I possess nothing that I should consider a special charm, such as a lucky stone, a rabbit's foot, or the like, yet there is a certain procedure to which I have resorted on some occasions, which I feel influences the course of events during that day. That is: going to chapel every day on which I am to take part in something that I am particularly anxious to make successful. It may be sacrilegious to term this a superstition, for to some it may seem a mere touch of religious spirit which prompts me to attend morning chapel. I admit, however, that my mind tends rather towards a superstitious than a religious feeling in so doing. . . . At any rate, it has appeared on several occasions as if chapel was the cause of setting in motion various happy occurrences to me . . . I have found it beneficial to attend chapel on any morning in which I am to take part in some track meet or am taking some examination."

Professional athletes, as a class, are perhaps the most superstitious people in the modern world. The college athlete does not escape. The commonest belief is that bad luck follows washing the clothes of the team. Those coaches who do not sympathize with this superstition have the very greatest difficulty in inducing members of a team to put on new, or even clean, clothes just before or during a contest. "It washes away luck," the accumulation of weeks of practice. The following statement is only one of many which have been received.

"Another superstition which I believe in is that of never washing running pants from one years end to the other. There is a saying that if a man has his track pants washed during the season he will do poorly in the next meet. This superstition, I think, is believed by most runners for they all wear trousers which are dirty."

A good illustration of contagious magic and its efficacy is shown in the following:

"In the track meets at school I used to wear an old red jersey which I borrowed because so far as I knew the wearer had never lost an event. After winning over twenty events with the thing

I lent it to someone to wear in a race. During its absence I found I had to run a race also. I lost the race and the wearer won his. The race I lost was the only one I had lost in three years and the race the wearer of the jersey won was the only one he had ever won. This proves the value of the jersey."

A second, expressing the same idea, follows:

"One of the beliefs which I hold is that wearing the clothing of another will give me some of that person's attributes. Thus when I am going to play tennis, I avoid taking any clothing belonging to my brother, which I ordinarily borrowed quite frequently, since he is less efficient at tennis than I."

One man admits,

"I write the name of a big leaguer on my baseball suit and the name of a great football player on my football togs. I suppose that I do this in order to keep my ideal in my mind and I shall be more like him."

Rain is considered necessary for the success in athletics of one of our famous preparatory schools:

"There is a belief, extremely prevalent among X—— men in this part of the country that the old school can better defeat her dearest rival on a rainy day than when the weather is pleasant. I received my introduction to this superstition at the final mass meeting preparatory to the foot-ball game with Y——. The last year's football captain who was addressing the school had come to the end of his harangue, when with a heart-rending appeal to his audience he cried, 'For God's sake, fellows, pray for rain.'"

The fetishes, amulets, and charms of athletes are legion. Many of these are selected on the basis of *post hoc propter hoc:*

"At the suggestion of my Professor, I hope to interest you with an amusing experience which happened to my brother when he was in college. The first year my brother was in college he made the track team. On the day of his first collegiate race, in taking off his clothes he stuck his scarf-pin in the jersey of his running

suit. When he got out on the track, he found that he had neglected to leave the pin in the locker building. So fastening it more securely in his jersey, he wore it through the race. He won the race. Ever after he wore the pin and was never beaten in the quarter-mile race, which was his event, during his four years in college till the intercollegiates of his senior year. That day he forgot to bring the scarf-pin with him and failed to score.

"My brother was an intimate friend of W——, of Princeton football fame. Last year just before Princeton played Yale, my brother sent the pin to W——, telling him of its history, and asking W—— to wear it in the Yale game. The Princeton man did and you are familiar with the remarkable showing that W—— made. In the Dartmouth game, however, Sam forgot to fasten the pin to his jersey and failed to distinguish himself on that day. When Princeton played Harvard, W—— took pains to see that the pin was on his person. The game made him the biggest football man of the year. The pin was a piece of Mexican jewelry which my brother had purchased in Atlantic City. It was said to have been made by a Pueblo Indian nearly a hundred years ago."

"In the Connecticut State golf championship at Greenwich last June, a very strange thing happened. On entering the tournament, I decided to wear my small rabbit-foot watch-charm. Followed by luck for eighteen holes I was able to qualify in the first sixteen. However on the last hole I lost my charm. In the first round, I could easily have won had it not been for that last hole where my opponent beat me because of a lost ball. All of my matches in that tournament were lost for me in poor luck and bad playing on the last hole. Now the person who found the watch-charm, it happened to be one of my friends, had been trying for the last five years for that title. It may be a coincidence that he won all his matches on that last hole and won his title with my rabbit's foot. Would he give it back to me? Certainly not, and he doesn't believe in superstitions either."

The personal idiosyncrasies of the baseball player can often be explained by superstition:

"I have no fetish, but am very superstitious, especially while playing baseball. During a game, I always carry a penny in the

leg of my pants. I place it in the roll which is made by rolling the edge of the leg and the top of the stocking down over the knee. This roll is a protection for the knee. I believe that this act brings good luck, because any time that I miss carrying it, our team loses. I am also in the habit of touching second base when my side retires from the field. By this act, I hope that, when I come to bat, I shall reach this base. Of course, this does not happen all the time, but it does in most cases. The last game, I took part in, I succeeded in reaching second base four out of five times. I am so accustomed to touch the base that if I forget, I lose all confidence when at bat."

The idea of *mana* or power within an object and the care taken to preserve its efficacy is clearly shown in the following paragraph:

"For several years I carried with me a charm which I half-believed was bringing me good luck. It was a French copper penny of the year 1777, which I myself picked up in the driveway of my home . . . I now reserve it for special occasions, in order not to exhaust its power."

An excellent example of the power of a phylactery is shown in the following "finely written" theme:

"Gentle reader, listen to my tale, and after it is ended, think me not simple, or crazy or foolish. I come from a family whose history may be traced back many years before Christ. Our dwelling place has been for the last several centuries in the lands of Lebanon, where the mighty cedars communicate with the heavens. Up to a few centuries ago we were a ruling family and controlled many lands in the Orient. Of late we have been subjected to the 'irony of fate' and have lost our renowned control. We now await the day, which at last has probably arrived when our people freed from the control of the people of the 'Crescent Tyrant' will call upon us to rule them once again.

"Since the death of Christ, gentle reader, there has been handed down from generation to generation, a certain family treasure, the charm of which has caused our family to retain it these many, many years. This treasure is made up of a silver chain upon which are fastened phylacteries which have for their

content some wood of the Cross on which our Savior was crucified. As yet these phylacteries have never been opened and probably never will be. Many are the stories of charms connected with this treasure, but it is my purpose to deal with what I have experienced only. It is only a few years ago that my father received this charm at the time my eldest brother was sick with typhoid fever. Doctors had no hope for his recovery. As soon as this charm was placed about his neck he began to recover. Today he is quite well. More recently a little nephew was seized with infantile paralysis. The Doctors predicted his death. His mother, my sister, was nearly crazed. She sent after the charm and it was given her. She placed it about the boy's neck and he recovered. Today he is not a cripple as other survived victims of that disease, but is perfectly well. Of recent date my brother went to war as aviator. He participated in many battles. Once his plane fell one thousand feet. His three comrades were killed; he alone survived. Today he is safe at home. Since this charm came into the family we have had good luck and we all believe that it is due to it alone. This is my story, gentle reader, believe as you may."

There is a type of actions which ought not, perhaps, to be classed as superstitions. A feeling of pleasure following the successful completion of a test is the main characteristic of this kind of belief. It might almost be called a variety of divination, as showing the will of the gods of fate towards the individual. The most common of these is one that I have never seen mentioned, the desire to reach a certain point or complete a piece of work before something else happens:

"My superstitions now are limited to things that I really know are not true, and yet have such a grip on me that I observe them and probably do believe them although I do not realize it. . . . If I have something in mind that I hope will happen, and chance to think of it when walking along the street where a large clock is visible, I select a certain point, say a tree two hundred feet off, and try to reach the tree before the hands of the clock have moved a minute. For instance, day before

yesterday I came out of X—— Hall at half a minute of twelve, thinking of something I was very desirous of obtaining. Mentally, I said, if I reach Y—— Hall before the clock strikes twelve my chances of getting the thing will be materially increased, and, if I failed to get there before the ringing, things would not be very hopeful. I got there just before the bell rang and felt far easier in my mind than if the contrary had occurred although by all the laws of logic and science I know that there is nothing to it."

Another man "runs to get past certain places before a car gets parallel with me." Flipping a coin to decide a thing is only one of many such acts carried out in order to reach a decision. These, according to the savage, would be acts of divination. The following theme shows the same idea, and also illustrates the characteristic fact that many of the superstitious practices disappear as one grows older:

"Every person has undoubtedly had, at one time or another, some peculiarity of temperament which is really harmless even though it may appear strange. People, denying any oddity on their part, are either unconscious of a peculiarity characteristic of themselves, or are too ashamed to disclose their acts. Although I can't recall any queer doings of mine at the present time, except that I blow into a glass before using it, a sanitary precaution not an idiosyncrasy, still I did have some superstitions only a few years ago.

"Often, during the early years of my High School life, I would leave a room after an examination quite undecided as to the grade probably earned. Then, coming to some stairs, I would decide to let Fate settle my question and would say to myself, 'Now, if in walking up these stairs, my right foot is the first one to be placed upon the landing of the floor above, then I have received a grade as high as I expect. If my left foot, however, is first, then my grade will be lower than the one expected.' This caused me to leave the outcome to Fate, and Fate, having decided, I would consider that incident closed until I did receive my grade in that examination. During the last part of my High School life, however, I didn't play the game fair, for the stairs

were well-known to me and I always knew beforehand that the right foot would be the first one to reach the landing of the floor above.

"Another idiosyncrasy of mine was one by which I decided if anything, of which I was uncertain, was right or wrong. Here Fate would act in the medium of a long word probably displayed on some sign hanging in a store-window. Looking at the long word I would say, 'Now if it is right, there will be an even number of letters in the word; but if it is wrong, there will be an odd number of letters.' Here, again, this system worked very well until I started to cheat, and then I would quickly discard any word which was not composed of an even number of letters. Even now I sometimes catch myself unconsciously performing either of these queer things, but it is through force of habit that I do this, for no longer is there any superstition attached to my actions."

The numerically-inclined mind comes out in several cases. Superstition may or may not be included. In the following theme, "my car" makes the trip "lucky" and it seems to be a superstition:

"The only pet superstition that I have is that of observing the numbers on street cars and subway trains. On every line in Boston and on the street car lines in Nashua, N. H., I have long ago selected certain cars, one on each system, that I call 'my car.' If I come across or ride upon that particular car I consider that I am lucky and good luck will follow:

Cambridge Subway, Car	0600,
Scollay Square and Harvard Sq.	5280,
Dudley St. and Harvard Sq.	1040,
Nashua, N. H.	2271,
Tarrytown, N. Y., etc., etc.	

I don't deeply believe in this but I enjoy it and have a really complicated system that I can and would like to discuss.

(Here follows his name and address)

I am a New Hampshire Yankee and enjoy the collection of such statistics. Have you some which I may see?"

The next, the only one given here which is not a Freshman theme, was written by a member of my own class and shows the danger to which superstitions may go, a tendency to pass into a phobia. I checked up the statements of the writer and found them to be true. Furthermore, I was able to point out to the student the very great danger to which he was exposed in giving way to this superstition. I warned him that it might lead to a psychopathic hospital.

"About six or seven years ago, I was engaged in a game of cards with one of my friends. We had already played three games before and I decided to cut matters short. My friend, however, remonstrated with me and urged me to play 'just one more'—a fourth game and I yielded. The next day my grandfather died and ever since I have been possessed of a sickening, foolish dread for the number four. This superstition, if such I may term it, has taken the shape of several forms. Never since that time have I gone to bed without first making certain that the minute-hand of my watch registered some other minute than four or any of its multiples. If, as luck would have it, it should hover covertly around the four or eight or twelve or whatnot mark, I would wait, sometimes shivering in the cold, until the delinquent hand had moved along to the five or nine mark as the case might be.

"Similarly, in all my lecture and reading notes, the number four has played its part, and so persistent has its effect been upon me that at times it has almost driven me to despair. Thus, in taking down a sentence, if four (or any of its multiples) words chanced to occur between any two successive marks of punctuation, I have inevitably added the word 'dear' to make certain that the number of words was five and not the hated four. Numerous instances of this can be found throughout my notes, and, if the reader is interested, a perusal of my notes in this course will at once indicate this."

An inherent pleasure in balance and rhythm is a frequent subject of superstitious beliefs. If a handkerchief is carried in one trousers pocket, another is carried

in the opposite pocket; a pencil in one pocket is balanced by another on the other side. The following essay illustrates the necessity of rhythm in the mind of the writer:

"I have a peculiar little superstition which may be of interest to you, not only because of its seeming triviality, but also because of its oddness. It is the superstition that I must not, when tapping in rhythm or beating time to music, stop other than on an even beat, except that the odd beat, if I stop on one, be in a multiple of three. I often, when driving an automobile, realize that I am beating time while humming and I have the feeling that something will go wrong if, after my tune is over, I stop beating on an odd beat. If I do stop on an odd beat, I feel compelled to start drumming anew, and this time I must stop on an odd beat, in order to make the whole number of beats an even number.

"This feeling probably seems to you too trivial to mention, but I seem strongly compelled by some unknown force, to follow its dictates. It is sometimes very annoying, when I am with older people and I am called upon to speak in conversation, for I keep on counting in my mind and often badly mix up my words and juggle my meaning. I think that this kind of petty superstition is very foolish and I am now trying to overcome the one which I have tried to describe."

A very superstitious class of our population is that composed of gamblers. There is a very large number of acts to induce good luck and keep away bad luck in games of chance. One theme on this topic is given, but it is typical of many. The "hunch" is not a new phenomenon, in spite of its modern name.

"Have you ever had a hunch, or do you know what a hunch is? This little expression is one of the untranslatable words of the vernacular of the average American youth. The only word in our language that comes anywhere near translating it is the word 'presentiment.' I frankly admit that I am a firm believer in hunches, in fact I don't believe I would be able to get along at all if I didn't have them to keep me going. The time I depend most on hunches is in playing cards, for example, when playing

'Red Dog,' a game much indulged in by Freshmen. I have lost heavily due to my desire to play the game rather than to wait until a hunch warned me that I was going to win. This is my only superstition and one that I would hate to give up."

An interesting type of fetish is some sign drawn beside the signature or at the top of letters and other written work. Not long ago, I was explaining this type of fetish to an anthropological friend dining with me at a Boston club. I was telling him of one man, long since graduated from college, who placed a cross at the top of every page of his examination books and on every letter and note book. At that very moment this man, now a successful lawyer, whom I had not seen for ten years, came up to our table, and I explained to him the subject of our conversation. Straightway he produced his pocket memorandum and there, even now, was the cross at the top of each page. A paragraph from a theme shows much the same idea.

"My fetish or 'hoosh-baby' is the conventionalized sketch of the bird drawn below, which for certain indefinite but potent associations it has for me, is a power for good. I use it also as a signature or sign of ownership."

The last theme shows that the writer is, after all, reconciled to the fact that he was born on Friday and is therefore superstitious:

"I have known of many persons in my brief existence, who would never think of starting anything on Friday whether it be setting out on a journey or making jelly. Now I was so unfortunate as to commence my life on Friday, and thus I have set out with a superstitious stigma on me which, I am glad to say, though it has never handicapped me to my knowledge, has always made me cautious,—extremely cautious. Although I realize that superstitions are ridiculous I never fail to carry out their arbitrary regulations as to picking up pins pointing towards one, never getting out of bed on any other side than is one's custom, look-

ing at the new moon over the right shoulder, and so on. One who does not conform to all these small restrictions can with difficulty realize the watchfulness that doing so entails. A superstitious person must be always on his guard: if he slips up the whole day's adventures crash around him and he wants to kick himself. I scarcely mind it after all; in fact, I really like it: it makes one so exact."

I do not think that this subject should be taken too seriously. One case only was found where the bad effects of superstition might lead to the development of a phobia. Disregarding many of the superstitious-like practices as simple appeals to the play instinct, "stunts" only, there are others which are distinctly superstitious. The point which comes out most clearly in the present study is that these are found in abundance in an academic background where they do not rightfully belong and where one might think they would be notable for their absence. The fact is inevitable, however, that we do find superstition throughout all classes in the modern world. This goes far to prove the thesis of a social and mental continuity with a past rooted in savagery and magic.

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INDEX

Acquired characteristics, 7
Adolescence, its rites, 99–113
Adoption, 160, 180, 185, 193
Africa, government, 209–210, 200
Age groups, 100, 131, 189
Agricultural peoples and sexual communism, 143
American history and the Iroquois, 205–207
Ancestor worship, 125–126
Animal and human society, 12–14, 36–38, 212
Animal names, 186, 201
  as totems, 110–112
Anthropoid apes and man, 64
  no promiscuity among, 145
  the family among, 127–128
Archæology, study of, 1–2, 19–20, 122
Aristocracy, 195, 210
Associations, based on age and sex, 189–190
  see also Secret Society
Australian tribes, 89, 99, 100, 210-211
  group marriage, 139–140
  marriage classes, 160–162
  puberty rites, 101–102, 105–109
  sex totems, 95
  totemism, 186
Avoidance, 150
  see also Parent-in-law tabu
Barnes, on Nordic hypothesis, 76, n
Beowulf, sister's son, 171
Birth, rites at, 89–95
Blood revenge, 217–218
Boas, vii, 20
Borough English, see Junior right,
Brain, human, 37, 52
  weight and size, 64–65
Bride price, 152–154
  purchase of, 151–154
  purchase and dowry, 153–154
Brother-sister marriage, 156, 208-209
Buckle, 43
Burial rites, 118–126
  by effigy, 121–122
Cannibalism, 232–233
Castes of India, 194
Charity, modern works of, 30–32
Chiefs, polygyny among, 149
  Polynesia, 200, 210
  Iroquois, 203
  see also Leadership
Child, introduction of, 93
  education of, 98–99
Child-bearing, 91
Child and the savage, 230
China, name exogamy in, 159
Chukchee, 46
  tale of fear of incest, 156–157
Church, rites of Christian, 91, 113, 126, 159–160, 219–220, 224
Churching of women, 91
Circumcision, 23
  and puberty, 102–103
Civilization and progress, 28
  and the savage, 2, 236–237
Clan, 158, 183–187
  varieties of structure, 183–185
  priority of clan and tribe, 184
  Iroquois, 201–202
Classes, see Social Classes
Classificatory system of relationship terms, 140–144
Climate and environment, 47, 49–51

Collective responsibility, see Joint liability
Composition in law, 219
Concentration and the savage, 59–60
Concubinage, 144
Confederacy, Iroquois, 189, 201-207
Conservatism, 83–84
Contract theory of society, 35
Convergent evolution of culture, 18
Corn culture of the American Indian, 21
Council, governing, 203, 210
Cousins, 152, 166–167
Couvade, 92-93, 22, 135
Crimes, 218–219
Criteria of progress, 28–33
Cross-cousin marriage, 166–167, 152, 163, 176
Cultural history of man, 4–5
Culture, a modern thing, 65–66
Dakota system of relationship terms, 141
Data for social studies, 2
Death, ideas of and rites of, 113-126
  explanation of, 115
Democracy, 193, 199, 205, 209–212, 236
Descent, 168–174
Despotism, 215
  in Polynesia, 200
Dewey, on the savage, 82-83, 87–88, 238–239
Diffusion of ideas, 18-28
Divergencies in cultures, causes of, 40–52
Divination, 219
  at birth, 94–95
  of college students, 260
Divorce, 155
Dreams, reality of, 115–116
  the other world, 124–125
Dual chieftanship, 200
Dual organization, see Moiety and Phratry
Durkheim, on exogamy, 165
  on mourning, 123–124
East, on miscegenation, 11
Economic basis of marriage, 127, 155, 177
Economics and environment, 47
Education, 98–99
Emotional life, 60–61
Endogamy, 157, 167
Environment, 42–52
  and stature, 6–7
Eskimo, 46, 50, 95
  polyandry among, 146–147
Ethical codes, 99
  and environment, 45
Ethics, 230–239
Ethnocentrism, 188–189
Eugenics, 6
Evolution, physical, 3, 17
  physical and cultural, 6–14
Evolutionary ideas on the family, 134–135
Exogamy, 157–166, 185, 187
  Iroquois, 202
  explanations of, 162–166
Family, 127–178
  anterior to human society, 127–129
  cohesion of group, 213
Fatherhood, determination of, in polyandrous families, 147–148
Fear of evil spirits, 86
  and tabu, 234
Female infanticide, 150, 232
  and polyandry, 147
Female prerogatives, Pueblo peoples, 173–174
  Iroquois, 168–169
  Khasi, 169
Ferguson, on similarities of culture, 23
Fetishes, 257
  of college students, 242–243
Flight of birds and of man, 9–10
Folk-lore, study of survivals, 136–138
Folk-tales, diffusion of, 20–21
  psychic unity seen in, 25–27

Food tabus, 57
Frazer, on tabu, 222
Freud, on exogamy, 165
Galley Hill man, 17
Galton, on genius, 30
Garth, on intelligence tests, 75, 77–78
Gerontocracy, 210, 212
Giddings, on the racial school, 41
Giles, on the Chinese civilization, 67
Goitein, on the ordeal and oath, 220
Goldenweiser, on totemism, 185
Gosse, 117–118
Government, 199–201
  democracy in lowest groups, 199
  Africa, 209–210
  Incas, 207–209
  Iroquois, 201–207
  Polynesia, 210
Greeks, customs of the, 112–113, 148, 150, 184
  birth, 94–95
  descent, 170
  tabu, 223
Group-marriage, 139–144, 135
  and relationship terms, 143–144
Group mind, 53–54
Group solidarity, 181, 235–236
Guardian spirit, 109-112
  see also Totemism
Hamlet and the succession of rule, 171
Hawaiian system of relationship terms, 141-142
Head deformation, 97
Hebrews, marriage customs, 175–177
  marriage by service, 152
  levirate, 137
Heliolithic culture, 22–25
Herodotus, on kinship organizations, 181
  on speech, 7–9
Hesiod, on tabu, 230
Hooton, viii
Horde, the man, 38–39, 212
Horse in America, 21–22
Howard, on arguments against promiscuity, 145
Howitt, on Australian puberty rites, 104, 105–109
Human and animal society, 12–14, 36–38, 212
Human soul, belief in, 114–117
Hunter, on intelligence tests, 74–75
Hunting peoples, 87–88, 143
Hybrids, intelligence tests of, 74–75
  see also Miscegenation
Illness and death, 117–118
Immigration, 31
Immigrants, changes in character of, 52
Inbreeding, 163–164, 145
Incas, government of, 207–209
Incest, 162–164, 237, 11–12
  universal tabu against, 155–160
  supposedly evil effects of, 163–164
India, castes of, 194
  Khasi, female prerogatives, 169
Indian-white mixtures, intelligence of, 74–75
Individual, rôle of the, 39–40, 53–54, 212, 213
Industries and environment, 48
Inheritance, social, 168
  see also Evolution, physical and cultural,
Initiation rites, 100
  see also Adolescence,
Instinct, 55–57
Intellect, 62–84
  no increase in, 29–30
Intelligence tests, 68–76
Iroquois Confederacy, 201–207, 189
  exogamy among, 159
  female prerogatives, 168–169
  totemism, 186
Jacob and his wives, 175–177
Joint liability, 217–218

Junior right, 172–173
Kabyle democracy, 209–210
Kellogg, on race mentality, 79
Khasi, female prerogatives, 169
Kingship, daughter's husband, 170–171
  sisters son, 171
Kinship groups, 182–187, 180
Kirgis, parent-in-law tabu, 175
Kroeber, 47
  on development of culture, 5
  on intelligence tests, 69–72
Kwakiutl, see Northwest Coast
Lacandones of Guatemala, 59
  family life of, 130–131
Language and environment, 48
Law, 216–220
  absence of central authority, 217
Leadership, 212–216
  never held by a woman, 168
  see also Chiefs and Kingship
Levirate, 137–138
  in England, 165
Lévy-Bruhl, on mental processes, 80–82
Life-token motive, 117
Linguistic palæontology, 48
Local groups, 181–182
Lowie, viii
  on Crow Indians, 154
  on factors leading to plurality of husbands and wives, 146
  on functions of government, 200–201
  on the levirate, 138
  on puberty rites, 100
Lubbock, on exogamy, 162
  on nuptial rites, 139
McLennan, 134, 157–158
Magic, 88, 227–228, 256
  and tabu, 222–223
Maine, on the patriarchate, 133
Mana, 213, 259
  and tabu, 223
  in a fountain pen, 226
Marett, on lack of privacy, 237–238
  on study of survivals, 136
  on tabu, 223
Mariner, on the Tongans, 232
Marquesans, 147
Marriage, 127–178
  definition of, 132
  and environment, 46–47
  by capture, 150–151
  contract, 149–155
  by mutual consent, 154
  by service, 176
  rites, 154–155
  classes in Australia, 160–162
Matriarchate, 134, 168–169
Matrilineal groups, authority in, 213
  descent, 168–172
Matrilocal residence, 173–174
Maya culture, 23, 24, 77
Melanesia, 109, 113–114, 139, 169
  cross-cousin marriage in, 167
  sociological fatherhood in, 148
  secret society, 190
Men's house, 109, 130, 131, 190
Menstruation, horror of, 101
Mental processes of savage and civilized man, 80–82
Mentality of races, see Intellect
Methods, 1–28
Migrations and environment, 48–49
Mink and the sun, tale of the, 25–26
Miscegenation, 10–12
  see also Hybrids
Moities, 158
  see also Phratry
Monarchial socialism of the Incas, 209
Mongoloids and environment 43–44
  diversity of culture, 66–67
Monogamy, 146, 149, 177
  peoples practicing it, 135

Monotypical evolution, 14–17
for marriage, 134–135
Moral codes, 233
see also Ethics
Morgan, on the classificatory system, 143
on savagery, barbarism and civilization, 16
Mother-right and father-right, 168–173
Mourning customs, 123–124
Mutilations and puberty, 102–104
Nairs, polyandry among, 147–148
Name, 95–98
tabu of, 95–96, 124, 157, 159, 196
Navajo, tabu of pregnant woman, 221–222
mother-in-law tabu, 174–175
rites of the, 58–59
Negro culture, 68, 79
intelligence tests, 69–73
Nordic hypothesis, 41–42, 63, 76
North American tribes, descent, 170
government, 200
social classes, 194
totemism, 186
Northwest Coast of North America
occupations, 194
marriage as a purchase, 153
social classes, 194–197
potlatch system, 195–197
tale of the mink and the sun, 25–27
Oath, 95–96
as an ordeal, 220
Occupations and classes, 194
Omaha Indians, 110–112, 93
camping circle, 187
Ordeals of initiation, 104–109
in law, 219–220
Organic theory of society, 35–36
Other world, 124–125
Parent-in-law tabu, 174–175
Parkman on the Iroquois Confederation, 205–206
Patriarchate, 133
see also Patrilineal descent
Patrilineal descent, 168–173
Patrilocal residence, 173–174
Patronymic groups, see Patrilineal descent
Perry, on Maya culture, 24
Phaethon and Phœbus Apollo, 26
Phallic worship, 138–139
Phratry, 187–188
Phylactery, 259
Physical criteria of race, 63–64
Physiological fact and sociological theory, 180
fatherhood, 148
birth, 93
puberty, 99–100
puberty and death, 102
death, 114
Physiology of races, 65
Pigmentation and environment, 44–45
Piltdown man, 17
Plato, on social groups, 180–181
Plutarch, on burial by effigy, 121-122
on superstitions, 246–247
Poison ordeal, 219
Political organization, see Government
Polyandry, 146–148
Polygamy, see Polygyny
Polygyny, 148–149, 235
Polynesia, government, 200
tabu in, 221, 224
Post hoc propter hoc, 254, 257
Potlatch system of Northwest Coast, 195–197
Preferential mating, 166–167
Pregnancy, 89–91
Primogeniture, 172
Procreation, ignorance of, 89
Progress, criteria of, 28–33
Prohibitions, marriage, 155–156
see also Exogamy and Tabu

Promiscuity, sexual, 134
arguments for and against, 136–146
as shown by relationship terms, 140–144
Property, 193
destruction of, 197
and descent, 171–172
Psychic unity, 18
Psychical effect of environment, 45
Psychology of races, 68
Puberty, see Adolescence
Public opinion, force of, 193, 213, 217
Pueblo peoples, environment, 47
female prerogatives, 173–174
name, 97
Pyle, on intelligence tests, 72–74
Race and physical criteria, 63–64
Race-mixture, see Miscegenation
Race prejudice, 78–79
Racial psychology, 68
Racial theory of culture, 41–42
Rank, 192–197
Ratzel, 42–43
Recapitulation theory, 3
Religion, 86, 93–94, 237
and environment, 48
and social classes, 194
Residence of married pair, 173–174
"Rites of passage," 88–89
Rivers, 27
on cross-cousin marriage, 167
on descent in Melanesia, 169–170
on dual organizations, 187–188
on junior right, 172
on group-marriage, 135
on *mate* of the Melanesians, 114
on relationship terms, 143–144
on ruling class, 215–216
on types of associations, 179
Robinson, on "minds" of civilized man, 54–55
on modernity of culture, 4–5
Roman kings, descent of, 170
Royalty, fallacious ideas of, 211
Savage and civilized man, 54–57, 2, 236–237
Secret society, 190–192, 112
Segregation of the sexes, see Men's house
Self-betrothal and elopement, 154
Semple, on grooves of travel, 49
Senses of the savage, 57–59
Service, marriage by, 152
Sex in early society, 129–131
Sexual communism, see Promiscuity
Sexual tabu, 57, 235
Shaman, 214
Shapiro, work in Norfolk Island, 11–12
Shaw, on civilization, 32
on present marriage rite, 153
Sib, see Clan
Similarities of culture, 17–28
Sister's son, 171
Slavery, 193, 195
Smith, Elliot, theories of, 22–25
Social classes, 192–197
Social insects and human society, 12–14
Social life and environment, 46–47
Social organization, 179–189
Iroquois, 201–207
Incas, 207–209
Polynesians, 210
Social solidarity, 181, 235–236
Society, classifications of, 14
geological argument on development, 15–16
nature of savage, 35–37
psychological theory of development, 38
theory of origin of, 35–40
and the social insects, 12–14
Sororate, 176
in England, 165

Specialization, physically and culturally considered, 29
Speech, 36–37
  Herodotus and his experiment, 7–9
Spencer, on the organic theory, 35–36
Spinden, on civilization in the tropics, 50
Spiral ornament and migrations, 20
Stature and environment, 6–7
Stefansson, 50
Superiority more than intellect, 85
Suggestibility of the savage, 61–62
Superstitions, 240
  classifications, 242
  origin of, 252
  of college students, 223–230, 242–266
Survivals, study of, as indicating
  marriage by capture, 150–151
  promiscuity, 136–138
Swanton, on exogamy among the Tlingit, 164
Tabu, 221–225
  birth, 90–91
  name, 95–96, 124
  parent-in-law, 174–175
  puberty, 101
  sex and food, 57
  and totemism, 111, 186
  Polynesia, 200
Tacitus, on the German tribes, 97–98
Tar baby story, 20
Terminology, danger of precise, 184–185
Tibet, polyandry in, 146–147
Todas, polyandry among, 146–148
Totemism, 185–187, 192
  sex, 95–96
  see also Guardian spirit
Trade, 19–20
Trials, 219–220
Tribe, 188
Tropics and man, 50–51
Tylor, on cross-cousin marriage, 166–167
Unilinear evolution, see Monotypical evolution
Van Gennep, 99, 102
  on "rites of passage," 88
"Virtues," 235–237
Vocational guidance, 7
Wallas, 13–14, 37
  on progress, 28–29, 32
Warfare, 88, 215, 236
Watson, on fear instinct, 55
Webster, on puberty rites, 99, 102
Wergild, 219
Westermarck, 135
  definition of marriage, 132
Wheeler, on social insects, 12–13
White man, his domination over the savage, 2, 236–237
Wife-capture, 150–151
Wife-purchase, 151–154
Women, uncleanliness of, 90–91, 101
  prerogatives of, see Female prerogatives

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